This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

3218.91.3 (2)

Harvard College Library

FROM THE
J. HUNTINGTON WOLCOTT
FUND

GIVEN BY ROGER WOLCOTT [CLASS OF 1870] IN MEMORY OF HIS FATHER FOR THE "PURCHASE OF BOOKS OF PERMANENT VALUE, THE PREFERENCE TO BE GIVEN TO WORKS OF HISTORY, POLITICAL ECONOMY AND SOCIOLOGY"

MINAR AT NATENS (PERSIA).

TRAVELS

IN

LURISTAN AND ARABISTAN.

BY

THE BARON C. A. DE BODE.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
J. MADDEN AND CO., 8, LEADENHALL STREET.
1845.

TRAVELS

IN

LURISTAN AND ARABISTAN.

BY

THE BARON C. A. DE BODE.

VOL. II.

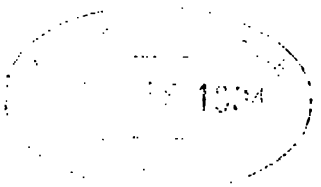
" Il n'y a point de description de voyage sans défaut, ni aucun voyageur exempt de tout préjugé, ainsi le parti le plus sage c'est de ne pas défendre ses opinions avec opiniâtreté."—NIEBUHR.

ILIYATS MILKING THEIR SHEEP AND CHURNING BUTTER.

LONDON:
J. MADDEN AND CO., 8, LEADENHALL STREET.
1845.

~~I, 6860~~
Asia 3218.41.5 (2)

Wolcott fund



CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

CHAPTER XVI.

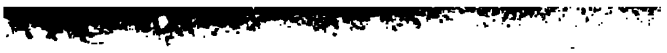
ADVENTURES AMONG THE BAKHTIYARI MOUNTAINS.

Arrival at the encampment of the Bakhtiyari Chief at Mál-Amír.—Reception made me by Muhammed Taghi-Khan.—Leave this Chief with the intention of returning to Isfahán over the Bakhtiyari mountains.—First day's journey.—Meet with the Governor-in-Chief.—Impossibility of penetrating further into the mountains on account of the advanced season.—Retrace my steps to Mál-Amír, in company of the Moétemid.—State of his forces and those of the Bakhtiyari Chief.—The Persian artillerymen.—Jaddehi, or causeway of the Atabegs (the probable ladder-road of Diodorus-Siculus).—Istak-bal, or reception made to the Governor-in-Chief by Muhammed Taghi-Khan. — Bakhtiyari horsemanship. — Arrival at the tents 1

CHAPTER XVII.

ANTIQUITIES OF MAL-AMIR.

Situation of the plain of Mál-Amír, in which remains of antiquity are found.—Cave of Shikafti-Salmán.—



MINAR AT NATENS (PERSIA).

TRAVELS

IN

LURISTAN AND ARABISTAN.

BY

THE BARON C. A. DE BODE

VOL. II.

LONDON:
J. MADDEN AND CO. 8, LEADENHALL STREET.
1845.

Page
weaving.—Resume the journey, and arrive at the encampment of Hajji-Mullah Ahmed Governor of Luristán 215

CHAPTER XXVII.

CONTINUATION OF THE ROUTE, AND ARRIVAL AT KHORREMABAD.

Forces of Hajji-Mullah Ahmed in camp.—Defects in the organization of the Persian regular troops.—Nomadic life of the Chief of Khorremabád.—Departure from Madianrú.—Stop for the night at Haiyat-Gheïb.—Description of the place.—Various roads from Madianrú to Khorremabád.—Desert of Chúle-Húl.—Departure from Haiyát-Gheïb.—Valley of Dilber.—Woody country inhabited by the Chingúni.—Plain of Khorremabád.—Black stone with Cufic inscriptions.—Arrival at Khorremabád.—Divan-Khaneh of the Kedkhúda in my apartment . 242

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ROUTE FROM KHORREMABAD TO BURUJIRD.

Description of Khorremabád.—Trade of the town.—Garden of Cypresses.—Superstitious belief attached to them.—Khorremabád destroyed by Timur.—For some time in possession of the Pasha of Bagdad.—Black monolite with Cufic inscriptions.—Departure from Khorremabád.—Arrival at the village of Resh.—Mode of baking bread.—Stability of Eastern customs.—Passage over the high chain of the Alvend—Arrival at Búrújírd 254

CHAPTER XXIX.

ACCOUNT OF THE LURISTANI.

Page

Description of Luristán-Kuchúk.—Limits.—Pish-kuh and Pusht-i-kuh.—The Alvend and Taughi-Girrah chains of mountains.—Reasons for considering the former the loftiest of the two.—Parallel system of the mountain-ridges observable in the Zagros chain.—Rivers.—Luristán-Kuchúk anciently inhabited by the Cossæans.—Traversed by Antigonus.—Later by the Arabs.—Timur's expedition into Luristán during the reign of the Atabegs.—The Valis of Luristán, Gurjistán, Kurdistán, and Arabistán.—Conduct of the Vali of Luristán during the Afghán invasion into Persia.—Recent intrigues among the members of that family.—Division of the tribes of Luristán-Kuchúk.—Pishi-kúh tribes.—The Silasilé.—The Dilfúns.—The 'Amaláh.—The Balá-Gheriveh.—The Púsht-kúh tribes.—The Feili, &c.—Taxation.—Produce of the country.—Character, religion, and customs of the Lurs.—Burning incense at the approach of a guest.—A similar custom mentioned in Ferdausi's "Shah-nameh" as existing among Arabs in the early ages of the world 269

CHAPTER XXX.

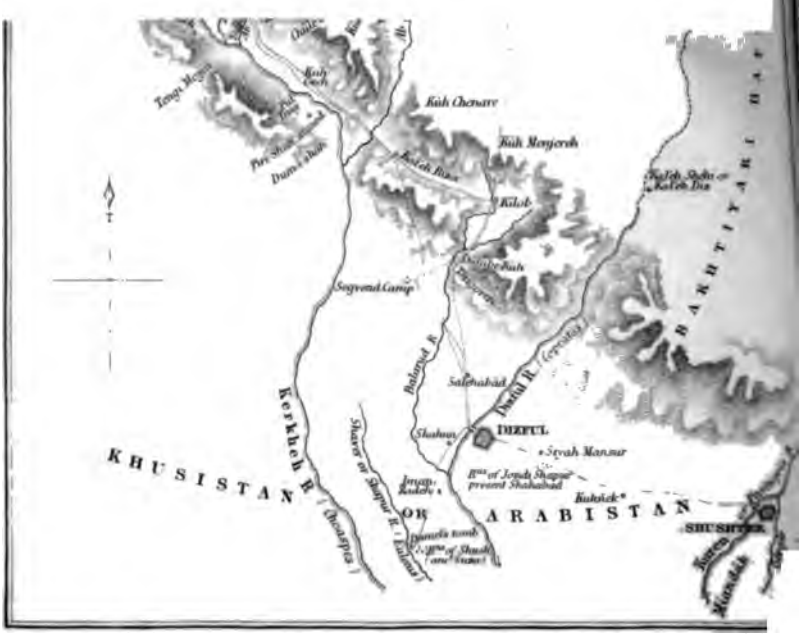
DEPARTURE FROM BURUJIRD AND RETURN TO TEHERAN.

Arrival at Búrújírd.—Theological controversy.—Ramazán fast.—Description of the province of Búrújírd.

Page

—Revenue.—Manufactures of the town.—District of Túsúrkán.—Khozrov-Mirza, the blinded Prince.—Various routes to Teherán.—Departure from Búrújírd.—Hissar.—Description of Kéros.—Shehr-nó, or Sultanabád.—Feraghán.—Birth-place of the late Kaimacan.—Some account of the life of this Minister.—Mountainous country of Mahalat-Aga-Khan, Chief of the Izmaeli sect.—The Helej of Kúm.—Opinions of the Persians concerning this people.—Saliyan.—Kúm.—Arrival at Teherán.—Summary of the distances between the principal places visited by the author.—Conclusion 298

OBSERVATIONS ON THE MARCH OF TIMUR, FROM TOSTER (SHUSHTER) TO KAL'EH SEFID; AND ON THE PROBABLE COURSE PURSUED BY ALEXANDER THE GREAT, ON HIS EXPEDITION FROM SUSA TO PERSEPOLIS 325



Madden & Co. Leadenhall St 1845.

LÚRISTÁN AND ARABISTÁN.

CHAPTER XVI.

Arrival at the encampment of the Bakhtiyari Chief at Mál-Amír.—Reception made me by Muhammed Taghi-Khan.—Leave this Chief with the intention of returning to Isfahán over the Bakhtiyari mountains.—First day's journey.—Meet with the Governor-in-Chief.—Impossibility of penetrating further into the mountains on account of the advanced season.—Retrace my steps to Mál-Amír, in company of the Moétemid.—State of his forces and those of the Bakhtiyari Chief.—The Persian artillerymen.—Jaddehi, or causeway of the Atabegs (the probable ladder-road of Diodorus-Siculus).—Istak-bal, or reception made to the Governor-in-Chief by Muhammed Taghi-Khan.—Bakhtiyari horsemanship.—Arrival at the tents.

On arriving at the encampment, I proceeded with my fellow-traveller from Kal'eh Túl to

the tent of the Bakhtiyari Chief, whom we had previously apprized of our coming. I found Muhammed Taghi-Khan surrounded by the different chieftains of the Arab and Lúr tribes, who were assembled in Mál-Amír, in expectation of the Governor-in-Chief of Lúristán and Arabistán. The tent was crammed full; however, room was made, and I sat myself down at the side of my host. After the first salutations were over, I inquired what news there was of the movements of the Moétemid, and whether he was soon expected. In his answers, however, Muhammed Taghi-Khan was very laconic, and I soon perceived that I was not welcomed with the cordiality to which I had been hitherto accustomed in Persia. At first I could not account for Muhammed Taghi-Khan's strange reserve towards me; but the mystery was afterwards unravelled.

Not finding my host very agreeable in his monosyllabic humour, I soon took my leave, expressing a hope that the Khan would give directions that I should be accommodated with a

tent. I found, however, that my new acquaintances, the Bakhtiyari, were not very hospitably inclined; nor were they half so civil as I had invariably found Persians, even those of Behbehán and the rude Mamaseni, to be. Had it not been for the kind exertions of my fellow-traveller, who, from having lived several months with Muhammed Taghi-Khan, seemed to be more at home, I should have waited long before the tent destined for my reception was cleared of all intruders.

I had in the meantime sent the guide, to whose care Mirza Kúmo had intrusted me on leaving Behbehán to Muhammed Taghi-Khan, with a request that I might be furnished with fresh horses, as I wished to set out the next morning to meet the Governor, and as I had been obliged to send back those that had brought me from Behbehán, at Kal'eh Tul. I had taken, moreover, the precaution to bring a written order from Teherán, addressed to the provincial authorities, requesting them to furnish me with cattle when called upon.

The guide soon returned with the answer, that Muhammed Taghi-Khan was averse to my going, and had refused to give the horses required. I well knew, that without his consent nobody in the camp durst venture to lend me any, whatever sum I might offer for their hire. His refusal, however, rendered me more anxious to depart; and I let him know, that if I could procure no horses, I would proceed on foot; but that the Moétemid would probably be surprised at my novel mode of travelling in Persia, and would certainly inquire into the cause. I do not know whether these reasons, or any other considerations, had the desired effect of changing the Chief's mind, but the horses were furnished the next day, and I set out on my journey.

I afterwards learned why Muhammed Taghi-Khan did not wish me to see the Moétemid. It appears that the Khan is not on the best of terms with Mirza Kúmo, the Governor of Behbehán. The Bakhtiyari Chief has made several encroachments on the territory of the

latter, and has received under his protection some tribes who have deserted Mirza Kúmo. It was suspected, on the other hand, that Mirza Kúmo had connived at the recent attacks which the Arabs had made on Ram-Hormuz, a place belonging of right to him, but at present in the possession of the Bakhtiyari Chief.

All these reasons combined made Muhammed Taghi-Khan apprehensive I had been requested by Mirza Kúmo to intercede in his favour with the Moétemid, and, in particular, to solicit the restitution of the town of Ram-Hormuz. These suppositions of Muhammed Taghi-Khan were merely the hallucinations of his own brain, for Mirza Kúmo had never broached the subject to me, although he may, for what I know, have given instructions to that effect to the guide who accompanied me and who was one of his confidential servants.

In going to join the Moétemid I had several objects in view. In the first place, I was not satisfied with the reception made

Page

weaving.—Resume the journey, and arrive at the encampment of Hajji-Mullah Ahmed Governor of Luristán 215

CHAPTER XXVII.

CONTINUATION OF THE ROUTE, AND ARRIVAL AT KHORREMABAD.

Forces of Hajji-Mullah Ahmed in camp.—Defects in the organization of the Persian regular troops.—Nomadic life of the Chief of Khorremabád.—Departure from Madianrú.—Stop for the night at Haiyat-Gheïb.—Description of the place.—Various roads from Madianrú to Khorremabád.—Desert of Chúle-Húl.—Departure from Haiyát-Gheïb.—Valley of Dilber.—Woody country inhabited by the Chingúni.—Plain of Khorremabád.—Black stone with Cufic inscriptions.—Arrival at Khorremabád.—Divan-Khaneh of the Kedkhúda in my apartment . 242

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ROUTE FROM KHORREMABAD TO BURUJIRD.

Description of Khorremabád.—Trade of the town.—Garden of Cypresses.—Superstitious belief attached to them.—Khorremabád destroyed by Timur.—For some time in possession of the Pasha of Bagdad.—Black monolite with Cufic inscriptions.—Departure from Khorremabád.—Arrival at the village of Resh.—Mode of baking bread.—Stability of Eastern customs.—Passage over the high chain of the Alvend—Arrival at Búrújird 254

CHAPTER XXIX.

ACCOUNT OF THE LURISTANI.

Page

Description of Luristán-Kuchúk.—Limits.—Pish-kuh and Pusht-i-kuh.—The Alvend and Taughi-Girrah chains of mountains.—Reasons for considering the former the loftiest of the two.—Parallel system of the mountain-ridges observable in the Zagros chain.—Rivers.—Luristán-Kuchúk anciently inhabited by the Cossæans.—Traversed by Antigonus.—Later by the Arabs.—Timur's expedition into Luristán during the reign of the Atabegs.—The Valis of Luristán, Gurjistán, Kurdistán, and Arabistán.—Conduct of the Vali of Luristán during the Afghán invasion into Persia.—Recent intrigues among the members of that family.—Division of the tribes of Luristán-Kuchúk.—Pishi-kúh tribes.—The Silasilé.—The Dilfúns.—The 'Amaláh.—The Balá-Gheriveh.—The Púsht-kúh tribes.—The Feili, &c.—Taxation.—Produce of the country.—Character, religion, and customs of the Lurs.—Burning incense at the approach of a guest.—A similar custom mentioned in Ferdausi's "Shah-nameh" as existing among Arabs in the early ages of the world 269

CHAPTER XXX.

DEPARTURE FROM BURUJIRD AND RETURN TO TEHERAN.

Arrival at Búrújírd.—Theological controversy.—Ramazán fast.—Description of the province of Búrújírd.

Page
weaving.—Resume the journey, and arrive at the encampment of Hajji-Mullah Ahmed Governor of Luristán 215

CHAPTER XXVII.

CONTINUATION OF THE ROUTE, AND ARRIVAL AT KHORREMABAD.

Forces of Hajji-Mullah Ahmed in camp.—Defects in the organization of the Persian regular troops.—Nomadic life of the Chief of Khorremabád.—Departure from Madianrú.—Stop for the night at Haiyat-Gheïb.—Description of the place.—Various roads from Madianrú to Khorremabád.—Desert of Chúle-Húl.—Departure from Haiyát-Gheïb.—Valley of Dilber.—Woody country inhabited by the Chingúni.—Plain of Khorremabád.—Black stone with Cufic inscriptions.—Arrival at Khorremabád.—Divan-Khaneh of the Kedkhúda in my apartment . 242

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ROUTE FROM KHORREMABAD TO BURUJIRD.

Description of Khorremabád.—Trade of the town.—Garden of Cypresses.—Superstitious belief attached to them.—Khorremabád destroyed by Timur.—For some time in possession of the Pasha of Bagdad.—Black monolite with Cufic inscriptions.—Departure from Khorremabád.—Arrival at the village of Resh.—Mode of baking bread.—Stability of Eastern customs.—Passage over the high chain of the Alvend—Arrival at Búrújírd 254

CHAPTER XXIX.

ACCOUNT OF THE LURISTANI.

Page

Description of Luristán-Kuchúk.—Limits.—Pish-kuh and Pusht-i-kuh.—The Alvend and Taughi-Girrah chains of mountains.—Reasons for considering the former the loftiest of the two.—Parallel system of the mountain-ridges observable in the Zagros chain.—Rivers.—Luristán-Kuchúk anciently inhabited by the Cossæans.—Traversed by Antigonus.—Later by the Arabs.—Timur's expedition into Luristán during the reign of the Atabegs.—The Valis of Luristán, Gurjistán, Kurdistán, and Arabistán.—Conduct of the Vali of Luristán during the Afghán invasion into Persia.—Recent intrigues among the members of that family.—Division of the tribes of Luristán-Kuchúk.—Pishi-kúh tribes.—The Silasilé.—The Dilfúns.—The 'Amaláh.—The Balá-Gheriveh.—The Púsht-kúh tribes.—The Feili, &c.—Taxation.—Produce of the country.—Character, religion, and customs of the Lurs.—Burning incense at the approach of a guest.—A similar custom mentioned in Ferdausi's "Shah-nameh" as existing among Arabs in the early ages of the world 269

CHAPTER XXX.

DEPARTURE FROM BURUJIRD AND RETURN TO TEHERAN.

Arrival at Búrújird.—Theological controversy.—Ramazán fast.—Description of the province of Búrújird.

foundation, would not have passed over in silence a work of such vast dimensions.

The Jaddehi-Atabeg, therefore, I infer is older than the age of Alexander.

Was it then erected by the sovereigns of the Kaianian dynasty, to serve as a line of communication between their western capitals and Persepolis, the cradle of their race? But is it probable that the monarchs who could elevate such lasting monuments, should at the same time be obliged, as we learn from history, to pay tribute to the mountaineers for a free passage through those very mountains, over which they had constructed a royal road for the greater convenience of travelling?

We are thus carried back from age to age, until the extended thread of Ariadne escapes our grasp, the feeble dawn of history is lost in the shadows of night, and we should be thrown into utter darkness, were not the leaves of the sacred book unfolded before us. There we read that in the youth-

ment, where, for thousands and thousands of years back, Chaderlaomer had marched his troops to join his Royal confederates, of Shinar, of Ellasar, and Tindal, King of Nations, to make war upon the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, before the wrath of heaven had fallen on those wicked cities.

Where history refuses to lend her torch, the imagination of a traveller in the wild and unfrequented haunts of the Bakhtiyari, may be allowed free scope to roam, without requiring any leading-strings. Yes, that is all very well; but, in giving way to my fancy, I have likewise slackened the bridle of my pony, and, as the ground on which I am travelling is not very even, I must rein in both my chargers, in order to preserve myself from the flights of the one and the stumbling of the other, for both might bring me down, and, as I have yet a long journey in prospect, *je dois ménager ma monture.*

On stopping at the ruined karavanserai of *Chehar-Deh*, or Kal'eh-Medresseh, in the midst

of the mountains, I found great preparations going on for the reception of the Moétemid, who, I learned, was expected the same day. Not giving implicit credit to these reports, I still pressed on, but the road became so intricate among the hills, covered with forest wood, and in parts blocked up by the approaching host from Isfahán; our horses were likewise so knocked up, the rain also coming down in torrents, that I was obliged to return to the encampment at the karavanserai, where a small tent was procured for me, and another for my attendants, by a younger brother of the Bakhtiyari Chief, named Ali Naghi-Khan, who came to make the necessary preparations for receiving the Governor.

The Moétemid, however, did not arrive till the next day, and then halted a day longer to allow the artillery carriages to come up. He was greatly surprised to find me among these mountain fastnesses, and especially in company of the Bakhtiyari, and was no less curious to know how I had succeeded in pene-

trating through the country of the Mamaseni. He recollected the rendezvous he had given me, when we parted at Isfahán, to meet again at Shúshter, an invitation I accepted at the time, but he had imagined, that on arriving at Shiráz, I should have been dissuaded from undertaking the journey on account of the uncertainty of the road. I told him that when a Frengi gives his word he considers himself bound to keep it, at least as far as circumstances (over which man has not always any control) will allow of it; that the impediments were far from being such as could have warranted me in backing out of the fulfilment of my promise. On the contrary, I had been received everywhere with hospitality, and treated with kind attention, with one solitary exception. But now that we had met, I begged to decline his offer of accompanying him to Shúshter, as I had little time left at my disposal, and wished to return by the shortest way to Teherán.

The Moétemid assured me that I must give

up the idea of penetrating to Isfahán by the way he had just come, because since his crossing the main chain of mountains deep falls of snow had completely choked up the avenues leading in that direction, so that even footpaths did not exist, and that at present his only means of communication with the seat of government at Isfahán was over Búrújird, where the great chain of Zagros presented a considerable falling off. This was the only practicable route for me to follow, if I did not wish to retrace my steps by the road I had already travelled. In this dilemma I had no choice left but to decide between Shiráz and Búrújird; and as the distance to Teherán was nearly the same, I preferred the latter, as being the more novel of the two, and as it would enable me to see Shúshter and Dizful, although I had to encounter in this direction the wild tracts of Luristán Kúchúk. I therefore accepted the Khan's invitation to accompany him, at least as far as Mál-Amír, where he intended to make some stay. Thus a part

of the road between Súsa and Isfahán, which latter town the Rev. Mr. Williams identifies with Ecbatana, and supposes the mountainous tract leading to it to be replete with interesting monuments of antiquity, still remains a *terra incognita.*

The forces of Manucher-Khan, the Moétemid Daulet, consisted of one regiment of *serbazes*, or regular infantry (the fauj-Khoï, from the province of Aderbeijan) of 1,000 mounted gulams, a well-armed cavalry, and of three field-pieces (I think six-pounders), with 150 artillerymen. His whole moving camp may have mustered about 2,500, with 3,000 horses and mules, the carriage cattle included. This display of military force in the wild and turbulent part of the country in which we now were, was the argument best suited to impress on the minds of the inhabitants the necessity of obeying the orders of the Shah, and the surest means of enabling the Governor to collect the taxes.

The Bakhtiyar Chief was not backward in

making a parade of his forces, in order to show his means of resistance according to circumstances. He had strained every nerve to collect around him all his adherents, or all such as feared to disoblige him. It was asserted that he had above 5,000 under his orders at Mál-Amír, but I doubt the fact. Independently of his own clan, the Janeki and the Bakhtiyari Cheharleng, some of the Khogilú tribes, the Bakhmeï, and the inhabitants of Ram-Hormuz had flocked to his standard.

The reception which Muhammed Taghi-Khan gave to the Moétemid was really very splendid.

The Governor-in-Chief broke up his camp at Chehar-deh, or Kal'eh-Medresseh, on the 5th of February, as soon as he had received intelligence that the artillery train had cleared a difficult pass, and was in the van of the moving columns; we then mounted our horses and followed them. It was not long ere we overtook the guns, as they were advancing very slowly on account of the bad road. The topchi, or artillery-men,

experienced great difficulty in getting them up the paved ascent of the hills, which formed part of the causeway of the Atabegs. The huge stones had been detached from each other in the course of time by the mountain torrents, which had quite swept away many; while others lay scattered along the high-road, impeding the progress of wheel carriages. I cannot proceed without paying a just tribute of praise to the Persian artillery-men.

The Persian artillery is by far the most efficient corps of the whole army. I am aware that this is not saying much, as both the regular and irregular forces of the country are in a most deplorable state; still less do I mean to compare it with the superior organization of this branch in the different states of Europe, because the Persians are completely ignorant of the scientific part of artillery. The praise I wish to bestow relates only to the artillery-men, who form the most hardy, the most active, and the most intel-

ligent corps in the whole army. It is quite a subject of wonder to see over what mountains, and through what intricate passes they carry their guns, without any previous preparation for facilitating their march, as the Persians never employ engineers to ascertain previously the nature of the ground they are to traverse, when engaged in their military expeditions.

To give the guns time to move on, the Moétemid reined in, and being fond of sporting, ordered his men to beat about the bushes in quest of game: while he himself with his party rode up an eminence attended by his falconers. As soon as the red-legged partridges* were forced to quit their hiding-places among the craggy rocks, and were making a sweep down into some more secluded glen, a hawk was loosened from the string by which it is held on the hand, and pounced on its prey as swift as an arrow. Some of

* Francolini, as Marco Polo calls them.

these poor fear-stricken partridges suffered themselves to be captured with the hand without offering to fly away, for as long as they see the hawk hovering above them in the air they will not stir.

This kind of pastime reminded me of olden times, when our Russian Boyars, and the proud Barons of feudal Europe, thought it their noblest occupation, after that of war, to spend their leisure hours in the sports of the field. In this respect, as in many others, Christian civilization has taught men to turn their minds to more serious and more rational pursuits.

In order to descend into the plain of Mál-Amír we had again to proceed along a stone causeway, which, at the summit of the hill, branches off in two directions, and unite again at its foot, leaving a deep ravine in the interval between them. In going to meet the Moé-temid, I had followed one of these roads, I now chose the other; but I found it in a much more dilapidated state than the former,

and in some parts so abrupt, so narrow, and with the stones so completely dislodged, that it was as much as I could do to drag the horse after me, at the risk of tumbling along with it down the precipices.

I am inclined to think that this must have been the more ancient road of the two; perhaps the very one alluded to by Diodorus Siculus, as the ladder-road over the mountains.* It is probable that when the pavement had become out of repair, the Atabegs of Luri Búzúrg in the middle ages caused a more convenient road to be made up the same hill close to the other, but with more circuitous turnings, in order to break the steepness of the ascent. Hence the name of Jaddehi-Atabeg, or high road of the Atabegs, which it retains to this day.

The two little sons of Muhammed Taghi-Khan were sent on before by their father to make their bow to the Moétemid, while

* See chapter xvii. for more ample information on the subject.

he himself met the Governor-in-Chief near to the place of encampment; just in the same manner as twenty centuries back *Abulites*, the Governor of Susa, sent out his son to welcome Alexander beyond the *Choaspes (the Kerkheh river)*, and afterwards came himself to greet that monarch.*

The Moétemid embraced the boys, and said a few kind words to each, as they were lifted off their saddles by their lalas or tutors. The elder brother, a boy of eight or nine years old, was a quick, intelligent lad, and performed his part remarkably well.

Children in Persia are generally taught at a very early age to affect in public all the reserve and stiffness of grown-up persons; and although it may give pleasure for the moment to see them so well behaved in society, the thought is not less painful when we consider that all these studied manners, while they

* See Quintus Curtius, lib. v., and note at the end of the chapter.

cramp the natural elasticity of youth, only produce deceit and falsehood.

Muhammed Taghi-Khan came next, accompanied by a numerous train of horsemen, well armed and well mounted. Each man had three pistols, a matchlock, and a sabre. The horses were well broken in, and singly went through the different evolutions of the Persian *manège* admirably well, doing credit to themselves and their riders. I never saw a more splendid show of beautiful Arab horses than on that occasion. The cavalry was filed in one line, and discharged a volley as the Moétemid came up. On the ridge of a hill to the left, and close to the road, Muhammed Taghi-Khan had placed his Tufengchi, or musketeers, who saluted the Governor in the same manner. After the cavalry came a motley crowd of people on foot, all stationed in a row, in order to extend the line as much as possible. Most of them were armed with clubs, but a few had firearms. At the approach of the Moétemid they gave

a loud cheer, or it will, perhaps, be more true to nature, if I say they set up a hideous yell, and their wild accents were caught up and repeated by a grumbling echo in the mountains. They produced likewise a strange loud noise by clapping their lips with the palm of the hand. These were the rough mountaineers of Lúristán Búzúrg, the worthy offspring of those *Uxians* who exacted of Alexander the same tribute which their own kings were wont to pay them whenever they crossed through their country.

A frantic troop of wild Bakhmeï now rushed on our sight, brandishing their naked swords and striking them in cadence against small shields, a performance very similar to the Affghán war-dance. While they were twisting and turning before us like the very whirlwind of the desert, Kara-ghuzlú (the Eastern Punch) with his associates the lutis (buffoons), was cutting capers to the infernal music of the Shúshteri performers.

As the plain spread out before us, the young

Bakhtiyari showed off their skill in horsemanship, and in throwing the *jerid*, a short stick, which in galloping they cast before them on the ground with great force, and catch it as it rebounds in the air. Sham fights and desultory firing lasted till we reached the camp at Mál-Amír, where the Moétemid was met by his farashes, or tent-pitchers, with long elastic rods to clear the way before their master as they preceded him, dealing blows right and left, unmindful whom and where they hit. The greater the noise they raise, the louder the lashes resound, the greater importance is attached to the character of the personage to whom they belong; and as the importance of the master is reflected on the servants, I leave it to the reader to decide whether the farashes in such cases are sparing of their manual exercise. Independently of this class of menials, the Shah, when he goes out, is preceded by a whole troop of executioners, or *nasakchi*, dressed in red, and the *felekchi*, or administrators of the bastinado, all of them armed with the weapons of their respective offices.

In this manner was the Governor conducted to his tents, followed on foot by all the chiefs and great men of the place who did not receive their *murahas*, or leave to depart, until the Moétemid was seated in his tent.

The reception made to Manucher-Khan was, according to Asiatic ideas, not wanting in any essential point; for even sheep, cows, and buffaloes were slaughtered on his way, as a *kurban*, or sacrifice offered up to the great man.

As soon as all these ceremonies were over, I hastened to the caves of *Shikafti-Salmán*, which I had visited for the purpose of drawing the bas-reliefs on my first arrival at Mál-Amír. I now wished also to copy the arrow-headed inscription in the cave, but I soon found that task utterly impracticable, the characters were so close to each other, and so much effaced by the effects of damp, the water oozing through the rock, that after a few attempts I gave it up.

I then applied to the Moétemid for the means of visiting Shúshán, which lies in the mountains about four farsangs to the north of Mál-Amír,

in the country of the *Dinaruni*, and to which Major Rawlinson has drawn the attention of the learned world by the opinion he entertains that Shúshán is the palace where the Prophet Daniel had his vision.* But here again I met with obstacles, all the horses of the Moétemid were too much fatigued, and the cattle Muhammed Taghi-Khan sent me and my party were so lean and miserable that they never could have carried us across the steep mountains. As I could not tarry any longer, I was obliged to relinquish my project, much disappointed.

* Journal of the R. G. S., vol. ix. p. 85.

NOTE TO CHAPTER XVI.

Page 22.—This ancient custom, which has been so faithfully preserved unto the present day in Persia, might serve as an argument, when in connexion with other proofs, to show that the *Choaspes* is the present *Kerkheh*, and not the *Kurén* stream, and therefore that *Susa* occupied the site of the ruins of *Shús*, and not the town of *Shushter*. For if it were the latter, Abulites would have met the conqueror at the very gates of the town, the river Kúren running close to its walls; whereas the Kerkheh, although not far, is

still sufficiently distant from the high mound of Shús, to have allowed the act of Abulites to pass as a mark of deference and respect to the Macedonian hero. Had he done less, he would have laid himself open to censure, for having committed, according to Eastern notions, a breach of etiquette, in not advancing sufficiently far to greet his noble guest; an affront which Alexander was not a man tamely to brook, nor Abulites, probably, in his critical position, over-anxious to offer.

I believe the very circumstance of Quintus Curtius mentioning that the son of Abulites conducted Alexander to the river Choaspes, where he was met by the Governor of Súsa, proves that the river was at some distance, else the historian would rather have named the town to which his hero was led, than the river which happened to lave its walls. In the presence of the *principal object* all secondary ones fall into the shade; for it was more than probable that Alexander was indifferent to the waters of the Choaspes, notwithstanding that they formed "the drink of none but kings;" although it may have been otherwise with him in respect to the treasures of the Persian kings, which were hoarded at Súsa.

BAS-RELIEF OF SHIKOFTI-SALMAN, AT MAL-AMIR (PERSIA).

CHAPTER XVII.

Situation of the plain of Mál-Amír, in which remains of antiquity are found.—Cave of Shikafti-Salmán.—Sculptures in the interior of the cave.—Tablet with arrow-headed inscriptions.—External bas-reliefs on the face of the rock.—Ruins of houses from the caves down to the plain.—Cave of Salmán.—Conjecture about the locality of Eskij.—Cascades in the mountains of Persia.—Shiháb.—Other remains of antiquity said to exist in the Bakhtiyari mountains.—Description of the Jaddehi-Atabeg, or pass-way of the Atabegs.—Comparison with the stone pavement of Shah-Abbas, in the Persian provinces of the Caspian Sea.—Improbability of the Jaddehi-Atabeg being originally constructed by the Seljuk chiefs of Lúristán Búzúrg.—Line of communication with Isfahán.—Comparison between the route pursued by the Author and that of Mr. Stoqueler, across the mountains.—Possibility of Jaddehi-Atabeg representing the climax vagale of Pliny, as well as the ladder-road described by Diodorus Siculus.

The plain of Mál-Amír (Commander's wealth) is above two farsangs in length from north to north, and in some parts nearly two farsangs in breadth. It is surrounded by hills, the

CHAPTER XVII.

Situation of the plain of Mál-Amír, in which remains of antiquity are found.—Cave of Shikafti-Salmán.—Sculptures in the interior of the cave.—Tablet with arrow-headed inscriptions.—External bas-reliefs on the face of the rock.—Ruins of houses from the caves down to the plain.—Cave of Salmán.—Conjecture about the locality of Eidej.—Cascades in the mountains of Persia.—Shúshán.—Other remains of antiquity said to exist in the Bakhtiyari mountains.—Description of the Jaddehi-Atabeg, or causeway of the Atabegs.—Comparison with the stone pavement of Shah-Abbas, in the Persian provinces of the Caspian Sea.—Improbability of the Jaddehi-Atabeg being originally constructed by the Seljuk chiefs of Lúristán Búzúrg.—Line of communication with Isfahán.—Comparison between the route pursued by the Author and that of Mr. Stoqueler, across the mountains.—Possibility of Jaddehi-Atabeg representing the climax megale of Pliny, as well as the ladder-road described by Diodorus Siculus.

The plain of Mál-Amír (Commander's wealth) is above two farsangs in length from south to north, and in some parts nearly two farsangs in breadth. It is surrounded by hills, the

highest chain of which lies to the north-east, and extends in a southern direction to the Mungasht mountains. Mál-Amír has fine green meadows, and is watered by mountain-streams. It has also two lakes, called *Shatt-bend*, one on the north-west, and the other on the east side of the plain; but I was told that they are sometimes dried up. Zakharya Kazvini speaks of a lake in these parts, which he calls Hom-al-Bawab.*

On this plain are several artificial mounds, of different sizes, one of which may be compared in height with the grand mound at Shúsh, near Dizfúl. It lies three-quarters of a farsang to the east of some natural caves in the hills; the intervening space, both in the plain and up the slope of the mountain, bearing traces of former habitations. In these caves I found some very curious remains of antiquity.

The lesser cave to the right has some huge stones cemented together, which may have served for the base of an altar. I shall pre-

* Uylenbroke's "Iracæ Persicæ Descriptio," &c., p. 31.

sently explain the reason which makes me think so. In the more spacious cavern on the left of this one, are two colossal figures, sculptured on the wall, but nearly obliterated by the water constantly oozing through the crevices of the rock, and the excessive dampness of the cave. An immense inscription, which takes up nearly the whole space between the figures, has suffered equally from the same causes. One of the figures is represented in profile, and looks towards the smaller cave, (where, I presume, the altar must have stood,) with his hands clasped, and in what seems to be an attitude of adoration. The outlines of the figure are in good proportion, and I could discern some arrow-headed characters on his short garment. The figure to the left is less graceful, and has its face turned full to the beholder. It has a long beard, ending in two curls, and a lock of hair falling down the right shoulder, somewhat in the Hebrew fashion.

We read in the Pentateuch the following passage :—

"All the days of the vow of his separation there shall no razor come upon his head: until the days be fulfilled in which he separateth himself unto the Lord, he shall be holy, and shall let the locks of the hair of his head grow." (Numb. vi. 5.)

The inscription I have just alluded to consists of thirty-three lines, from eight to ten feet in length. The slab with the cuneiform inscription at Shúsh has the same number of lines. It is in arrow-headed characters, but so much injured by the water penetrating through the rock and dripping down the side of the wall, that, though I scrambled up to have a nearer view of it, I was obliged to relinquish the idea of making a copy.

On the opposite side, or to the right of the smaller cave, are two more bas-reliefs on the external face of the rock, and these are in a much better state of preservation than the former, owing to the harder texture of the stone on which they are sculptured. The foremost consists of the figures of a man and

woman, with a child between them. Their arms are folded, and their faces, but not their whole bodies, turned in profile towards the altar. The man is broad-shouldered, and has a beard; he wears an angular cap, and is dressed in a tunic, which does not reach below the knee, with short sleeves, like the felt coats worn at this day by the Bakhtiyar Iliyats.

The head of the female is carefully and tastefully worked out: the features are delicate and regular, and the head-dress somewhat resembles the chaste style of the Grecian statues.

The next bas-relief has in front the figures of two adult males and two children, and in the rear the figure of a female. They are all turned the same way, pointing, apparently, with their fingers towards the altar. The foremost is dressed nearly in a similar fashion to the male figure in the previous group: the second has a round cap, such as is worn at the present day by some of the Bakhtiyari, and made of felt. The head-dress of the female

resembles the high turban of the Jewish women, projecting forwards.

This spot bears the name of Shikáfti-Salmán, among the Mussulmans, from a third cave, in which are interred the mortal remains of Salmán, the tutor and friend of Hezreti-'Ali. According to the doctrine of the Ali-Illahi sect, both tutor and pupil are associated in a joint incarnation.

Ram-Hormúz, fourteen or fifteen miles distant from the caves at Mál-Amír, is supposed to be the native place of Salmán.*

In the area before the caves, and on the slope, which extends down into the plain, there are numerous remains of habitations. The houses must have been crowded one above the other. I had observed a similar appearance at Kal'eh Gebr. I do not remember to

* Tavernier, speaking about *Ram-Hormúz*, which he writes *Rem-Hormous*, adds,—" Les Persans disent que c'est dans cette ville que naquit *Selmon*, qui fut Père nourrissier *d'Aly* gendre de Mahomet, qu'il éleva tendrement, le portant entre ses bras en son enfance." (See Tavernier, " Voyage en Perse," &c., liv. iii., page 404.)

have seen any bricks: all the buildings are of freestone, cemented with a very hard whitish plaster. On the plain fragments of this stone and mortar lie scattered about to a vast extent; and if the town of Eïdej was not situated on the banks of the river Halegún it may have stood here.

In spring, and during the rainy season, a beautiful cascade rushes down from the top of the hill between the two external bas-reliefs, and must present a splendid spectacle. Similar cascades are to be seen in the Albúrs Chain. There is one at Pas-Kal'eh in the Shemirán mountains, not far from Teherán, which the late Fet'h-Ali-Shah used to visit in summer to enjoy the coolness, as well as the beauty of the spot. Another waterfall occurs between the mountain villages of Kand and Soleygán, four farsangs north-west of Teherán. There is likewise a splendid cascade on the road to Mazanderán after descending the Gadúk pass, and one or two more on the way from Isfahán to the districts of Chehar-Magal and Fereidán,

in the Dalán-Kuh chain of the Bakhtiyari mountains.

Four farsangs to the north of Mál-Amír, beyond a high range of mountains, is Shushán, on the river Kuren, in the district of Dinarún; but as time did not allow me to visit that interesting spot, and as Mr. Layard has given a description of it, I shall not dwell on this subject.*

I have only to observe, that on my return to Teherán I was informed by a Bakhtiyari Chief of the Heft-leng tribe of the existence of a cavern in a rock, one day's march west from Shushán, and two from Shúshter.

At the entrance of this cave, or labyrinth, are some sculptured figures to the right and left of a long inscription, which, according to the description of my informant, must be in the arrow-headed characters.

Causeway of the Atabegs.—As the causeway generally known by the name of Jaddehi-Atabeg, or the highroad of the Atabegs, is in

* See note at the end of the chapter.

the vicinity of Mál-Amir, and has been in part visited by me, I may venture here to offer some remarks in addition to those I have previously given.

The great line of communication which formerly existed between Susiana and central Persia lay across a chain of mountains, which is a continuation of the Zagros and the Alvend; but as the road presented many difficulties on account of the ruggedness of the country, it is natural to suppose that this circumstance must have early attracted the attention of the ancient rulers of the land, and suggested the propriety of rendering it more practicable. We consequently find that the steepest ascents and descents of the mountains are paved with huge blocks of hewn stone.

The pavement may be from eight to nine feet in breadth, and between every fifteen or twenty blocks broad slabs of stone are laid across the way to keep the intermediate masonry firm. These are, as it were, the ligatures of the causeway. Although this

BAS-RELIEF OF SHIKOFTI-SALMAN, AT MAL-AMIR (PERSIA).

ceding chapter that the ascent from the plain of Mál-Amír has two paved roads, of which the better pavement, and probably the more modern, may possibly have been constructed by the Atabegs.

I obtained from the brother of the Bakhtiyari Chief, Ali Naghi-Khan, who had conducted the Moétemid across the mountains, the following list of stations at the Jaddehi-Atabeg, between Mál-Amír and Isfahán. The road, although very difficult in many places, was still found practicable by the Governor of Isfahán, who brought with him across the mountains two field-pieces, six-pounders.

From Mál-Amír to Chehar-deh, or Kal'eh-Medresseh; to Dehi-diz; to Reváz; to Helúsad; to Armen; to Lurdegún; to Felad; to Semirán; to Kari, or to Kumishéh; and from thence, by the usual road, to Isfahán.

In comparing this itinerary with the route which Mr. Stocqueler followed from Behbehán to Isfahán,* we find that both these roads meet

* See the note at the end of Chapter XII. p. 325.

CHAPTER XVII.

Situation of the plain of Mál-Amír, in which remains of antiquity are found.—Cave of Shikafti-Salmán.—Sculptures in the interior of the cave.—Tablet with arrow-headed inscriptions.—External bas-reliefs on the face of the rock.—Ruins of houses from the caves down to the plain.—Cave of Salmán.—Conjecture about the locality of Eidej.—Cascades in the mountains of Persia.—Shúshán.—Other remains of antiquity said to exist in the Bakhtiyari mountains.—Description of the Jaddehi-Atabeg, or causeway of the Atabegs.—Comparison with the stone pavement of Shah-Abbas, in the Persian provinces of the Caspian Sea.—Improbability of the Jaddehi-Atabeg being originally constructed by the Seljuk chiefs of Lúristán Búzúrg.—Line of communication with Isfahán.—Comparison between the route pursued by the Author and that of Mr. Stoqueler, across the mountains.—Possibility of Jaddehi-Atabeg representing the climax megale of Pliny, as well as the ladder-road described by Diodorus Siculus.

The plain of Mál-Amír (Commander's wealth) is above two farsangs in length from south to north, and in some parts nearly two farsangs in breadth. It is surrounded by hills, the

first part of the road to the place called the Ladder, lay along a hollow way exposed to the excessive heat of the season, and unprovided with any means of subsistence; but for the next, which ascended over the mountain, it enjoyed a perfectly salubrious climate, and abounded in provisions of all kinds. This portion of the route, intersected by frequent valleys of great beauty, and furnished with a pleasant shade, presented many richly cultivated gardens covered with trees, grouped by nature, and irrigated by numerous rivulets of water, affording to travellers spots as agreeable to the eye as they are favourable to repose. The country abounded in great herds and flocks of all kinds, which the people, at the request of Peucestes, brought into the camp."*

* "Euménes (après sa victoire remportée sur Antigone) leva le camp qu'il avait sur le Pasitigre, et se dirigea à travers la Perse vers la ville de Persépolis, une des résidences royales dont il se trouvait pour le moment éloigné de vingt-quatre jours de marche. La premiére partie de la route jusqu' au liéu nommé, Les Echelles, suivait un

One cannot give a more correct or concise description of the *Jaddehi-Atabeg*, than by calling it "*Les chemin des Echelles*," or the *Ladder-road*, because it is chiefly composed of steps paved up and down the hills. This latter part of the road, compared with the routes which lie south of the Great Chain, is reckoned much cooler, as it passes through a high mountainous country, and through the valleys which intersect it. The hills are likewise covered with thick forests, and numberless streams flow from the snowy range of

chemin Creux, exposé à la chaleur excessive de la saison, et depourvu de moyens de subsistance, mais pour le reste *s'élevant sur les montagnes* jouissait d'un air parfaitement salubre et abondait en vivres de tout genre. Cette portion de la route coupée fréquemment de vallées agréables et ombragées, offrait quantité de jardins riches en agriculture, couverts d'arbres groupés naturellement et arosés pas de nombreux cours d'eau, de manière à présenter aux voyageurs des lieux aussi riants à la vue que favorables au repos. La contrée nourrissait de plus grands troupeaux de toute espèce que les habitants sur la demande de Peuceste amenèrent au camp," &c., &c. (See vol. vi., liv. xix., chap. 21, p. 4, in Miot's translation of Diodorus.)

mountains, of which the Zardeh-Kúh and the Ardekán form part, whilst the lower southern hills have few trees and much less water.

I offer these suggestions with diffidence, as they are at variance with some high authorities, who have treated of the subject; but as this part of the country has been for many ages a complete *terra incognita*, and even at present is but partially known, it is not surprising there should have existed a diversity of opinions founded only on ancient authorities, which are not always clear and precise.

NOTE TO CHAPTER XVII.

The reader may, perhaps, feel interested to have an account of Sushán from an eye-witness, I therefore extract a passage of Mr. A. H. Layard's communication to the Royal Geographical Society of London, on the subject :—

" The plain of Mel-Amir is separated from the valley of the Kuran by a ridge of hills of considerable height. There are two roads across these hills to Susan. The distance may be between fifteen and twenty miles. I had

much difficulty in reaching Susan, the neighbourhood of which is inhabited by a tribe of the Dinaruni, notorious for their predatory habits. Unfortunately I was robbed on my way thither of my watch, compass, and many other things, which would have proved exceedingly useful to me. I have experienced the difficulty of obtaining correct information as to things and places from Persians; and I am not surprised that Major Rawlinson should have been misled by their exaggerated accounts. At Susan there are scarcely any remains which would indicate the site of a large city; and those ruins which do actually exist are all confined to the northern bank of the river. I do not doubt, however, that a large city did once exist here; but there are no mounds of any size, or columns, or even hewn stones and bricks. On either side of the river, which enters and leaves the valley of Susan by narrow and almost impassable gorges, there are the remains of ancient roads, and the river was formerly spanned by a bridge, four buttresses of which remain and attest the stupendous nature of the building. The tomb of Daniel is neither of white marble, nor are there any sacred fish: it is a comparatively modern building, of rough stones, containing two apartments. It is regarded with great veneration, and is always known by the name of Gebr Daniel Akbar, or the Greater Daniel, in contradistinction to the one at Shus. There is an inscription near the tomb, which, however, from the extreme jealousy and suspicions of the people, I was unable to see. The story of the black stone of Shus had reached them, and they conceived that I wished to carry off their talisman. I trust, however, to be

able to visit the place under more favourable auspices. The river Kuran is here a fine broad stream, the water of exquisite clearness, and remarkable throughout the country for its good qualities. I found it fordable in one place only. I hear of another place called Susan, in the mountains, to the north-east of the place I visited. There are also here, I am told, the ruins of a large city, and adjoining a very extraordinary work: a mountain known by the name of Koh Kaikou, is said to have been cut through to afford a passage for a considerable stream, which formerly formed a lake. I am also informed that there are numerous cuneiform inscriptions in the neighbourhood. Making considerable allowance for exaggeration, it is probable that there are ruins and works at this place worthy of a visit. This Susan is known as Susan Sir Aub, to distinguish it from the other place of the same name, and is situated upon a considerable stream running into the Kuran." (See "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," vol. xii. p. 103—4.)

CHAPTER XVIII.

On the probable site of the Uxian city besieged by Alexander the Great on his way from Susa to Persepolis.

On re-perusing Quintus Curtius' description of the march of Alexander the Great from Susa to Persepolis, I am struck with the resemblance which the description of the situation of the town of the Uxians, besieged by the Macedonian Conqueror, bears to the vicinity of the caves of Shikáfti-Salmán, in the country of the Bakhtiyari. The country of the Uxii lay between Susiana and Persis, east of the Pasitigris (the Kúren) and west of the Oroatis (either the Kúrdistán or Abi-Shirin river).* The southern part of this district is a flat plain; the northern a mountainous region.

The town of the Uxians was situated in a hilly country, consequently we must look for

* See Arian, b. iii. c. xviii., and Pliny, lib. vi. c. xxvii.

it in a northern direction. We learn from Quintus Curtius the number of days Alexander took to reach the left bank of the Pasitigris from Susa, but he does not mention how many days more were required for him to reach the town of the Uxii. The distance, however, could not have been very considerable, else surely some of Alexander's historians would have alluded to it, whereas they are silent on the subject. In the absence of positive information, perhaps the safest plan is to examine whether any part of the country answers the description ancient authors give of the situation of this town, and whether any ruins exist on that spot. Both these conditions are fulfilled on the plain of Mál-Amír.

I shall, in the first place, quote the passage in Curtius, in which the situation of the town of the Uxii is indicated.

"Individuals," says Curtius, "of local knowledge, apprized Alexander that there was a by-track through the defiles leading to the back of the city, where a small light-armed

detachment might climb an eminence commanding the enemy. This counsel approved, and those who had imparted it selected as guides, the King directed Tauron, with 1,500 mercenaries and about 1,000 Agrians, to penetrate in that direction after sunset. Alexander on his part broke up the camp at the third watch, and at daybreak *had passed the Straits.* Having cut materials for hurdles and rolling frames, to cover those who should advance the engines, he began to besiege the town. All around crags, rocks, and precipices obstructed access. The soldiers, therefore, wounded in numbers, were repulsed, for they had to conflict, not only with their enemy, but with the place. Again they moved up, rallied by Alexander, who stood among the foremost. 'Are you not ashamed, having conquered so many fortified cities, to waver in the siege of a small obscure castle?' The King was now attacked with missiles, he could not be induced to withdraw, and the soldiers formed a tortoise with their bucklers to protect him. At length Tauron appeared with

the detachment *above the fort.* This displa caused the enemy to droop, and the Maced nians to fight with augmented vigour. Th inhabitants of the town were pressed by tw divisions, of which the assault was irresistibl many were solicitous to fly; a great numb escaped *into the fort*, hence they sent o deputies to Alexander, to implore quarter."

Further on the author adds, that messenge were likewise sent to Sisygambis to solicit h intercession with Alexander in behalf of t inhabitants, and Alexander granted, not on amnesty to Madates, but liberty and immuni both to the captives and the inhabitants, surre dering, *the city he left untouched*, and the inh bitants permitted to cultivate their lands t free.*

Arrian's account of the siege may also b referred to with advantage.†

* See Pratt's Q. Curtius, chap. iii. book v.

† I use Chaussard's translation :—

" Alexandre part de Suse avec son armée, passe Pasitigre et entre dans de pays des Uxiens, etc. Il pre

" Alexander leaves Susa with his army, crosses the Pasitigris and enters the country of the Uxians, &c. He takes with him his guards, the Hypaspists, and eight thousand men from

---

avec lui ses gardes les Hypaspistes, et huit mille hommes du reste de l'armée, et se dirigeant de nuit par un chemin détourné ayant pour guides des Susiens, il franchit en une marche des défilés inaccessibles, pénétra dans un bourg des Uxiens, les surprend, plusieurs sont tués dans leurs lits, les autres se dispersent dans les montagnes. Le vainqueur fait un butin considerable. Il marche précipitamment vers les gorges, où il avait donné rendezvous aux Uxiens pour recevoir le tribut.

" Craterus, qu'il a detaché en avant (Curtius mentions Tauron) à dû occuper les hauteurs pour fermer la retraite à l'ennemi ; lui-méme il double le pas, s'empare des défilés, range ses troupes et fond sur les barbares, avec tout l'avantage du lieu. Consterné de la rapidité d'Alexandre, privés du poste sur lequel ils comptaient, les barbares fuyent sans en venir aux mains. Une grande partie périt sous le fer des Macédoniens qui les poursuivaient ; une autre dans les précipices ; le plus grand nombre se sauvant sur les montagnes, où Craterus les a dévancée yreçoivent la mort."*

---

* This passage occurs in the seventeenth chapter of the third book of Arrian's " Anabasis."

the rest of the army, and choosing by night a circuitous road, guided by certain Susians, crosses in one march some almost inaccessible defiles, and penetrating into the town of the Uxians, takes them by surprise. Many are killed in their beds, the rest dispersed among the mountains. The conquerors acquire considerable booty. He then marches hastily towards the defile where he had given rendezvous to the Uxians in order to receive their tribute."

"Craterus, whom he had sent on before, had received orders to occupy the heights in order to cut off the retreat of the enemy. Himself marches rapidly, seizes the defiles, puts the troops in order, and falls upon the barbarians with all the advantage of position. Alarmed at the rapidity of Alexander, deprived of the position on which they had reckoned, the barbarians fly without coming to blows. A great part perish by the sword of the Macedonians who pursue them; others meet their death among the precipices; whilst the greater

number, escaping into the mountains, fall in with Craterus, and by him are slaughtered."

On the map, which serves to illustrate the present narrative, it will be observed that there is a narrow passage connecting the plains of Halegún and Mál-Amír, through which the river of Shah-Ruben takes its course. It is the only approach that I am aware of to the latter plain from the south-west, the direction from which Alexander marched. I think this pass represents the defiles mentioned in Arrian and Quintus Curtius, and which it was necessary for Alexander to secure before he could enter on the plain where the Uxian town stood. With the exception of this strait, Mál-Amír is encompassed by mountains; on the western face of which, in a recess, are the famous caves of Shikáfti-Salmán.

These caverns are not at the foot, but on the declivity of the hills, and the passage leading up narrows as it approaches them; or, if we look from above the ravine, at the head of which the caves are situated, appears

to be spread out like a fan till it is lost in the plain.

The whole ravine is strewed over in every direction with stones, mortar, and clusters of ruined houses, scattered among the rocks, crags, and projecting masses of stone. Stupendous rocks rise above the caves and this ruined town, and, during the rainy season, a cascade gushes down from the heights.

The breadth of these hills from east to west, or from the caves of Shikáfti-Salmán to the valley of Shah-Ruben, which forms their western boundary, may be about ten miles, and it is over this tract of hilly country that Tauron had to march before he appeared above the heads of the amazed inhabitants of the besieged town, who little expected to be attacked from that quarter.

Curtius, in stating further that a great number of the inhabitants escaped into the fort, proves that the town besieged at the hills was not the only fortified place in the neighbourhood. The expression likewise, that *Alex-*

ander left the city untouched, I think, cannot be applied to that which he had just captured, putting the inhabitants to flight and to the sword.

It was also from this fort that a deputation was sent to Alexander to implore quarter, and that messengers were despatched to Sisygambis, beseeching her to intercede in favour of the inhabitants. Now we learn from Diodorus, as well as from Curtius, that this Princess was left at Susa with other female members of Darius' family.* So that the messengers had to travel there and back: and, allowing the utmost expedition, an answer could hardly have been received before the expiration of three or four days; the distance in a straight line being no less than 100 miles. What was Alexander about in the meanwhile? If the intercession of Sisygambis was deemed necessary, it appears that Alexander intended to pursue hostilities; but, as his historians do not mention their renewal, he was most probably recruiting his

* Diod. Sic., lib. xvii., c. lxvii., and Q. Curt., lib. v., c. ii.

troops after the hot reception they had met from the Uxians, and preparing to lay siege to the fort, which must have been of some strength to require such preparation.

Now, in the middle of the plain, about three miles to the east of the caves, rises an immense artificial mound, the dimensions of which are certainly not less imposing than those at Shúsh and Babylon. It is surrounded by broken and uneven ground; but a luxuriant carpet of green grass conceals its structure from the inquisitive eye. Its external form and appearance resembling the Susian and Babylonian mounds, and the circumstance of cuneatic inscriptions being found in its vicinity, bespeak the high antiquity of the place, and afford a strong argument in favour of the existence here, in former times, of a considerable fort, corroborating my impression that Mál-Amír is the site of the Uxian town besieged by Alexander.

With regard to what Arrian says of Alexander's destroying the small villages and dis-

persing the inhabitants before he entered the strait, this may relate to the plain of Halegún. I found some ruins not far distant from the pass which leads to Mál-Amír, which I at first was inclined to attribute to the Sasanian, or even to a later period. Little stress can, however, be laid upon this circumstance, for the same stones may have been used by the Elamites, the Uxians, the Sasanians, the Arabs, or the Atabegs of Lúr, as they succeeded each other. It serves only to show that these straits were formerly guarded, and explains the apparent neglect of Madates to secure them otherwise than by intrusting them to the inhabitants of the villages.

If the position of the town of the Uxii can be considered as established, it will serve as a collateral proof that the Pasitigris is no other than the Abi-Kúren, for this river could never be to the east of this place; and the historians of Alexander do not mention his having passed any other considerable stream in his advance, from the time he had crossed the

Pasitigris, on entering the territories of the Uxii.

As there are remains of other ancient towns in the country of the Bakhtiyari, besides the ruins found at Mál-Amír, I have examined whether any of such known at present, could serve as a representative of the city of the Uxii. This examination has only tended to confirm me in my former impression, that it can be represented by no other ruins than those close to the caves of Shikáfti-Salmán. The places I allude to are Shushán, Manjanik, Kal'eh Gebr, and Tashún. Shushán, although in the vicinity of the caves just adverted to, cannot have been the Uxian town in question, because, as it lies on the right bank of the Kuren, in the mountains, four farsangs to the north of Mál-Amír, Alexander would have had to cross that river, or in other words, to recross the upper course of the Pasitigris, before he could reach that town, a circumstance of which his historians make no mention. Neither can Manjanik be regarded as

the town of the Uxii, for it does not stand at the foot of any considerable hills; and according to Arrian and Quintus Curtius, the city was overhung by precipices, from the top of which Tauron attacked the inhabitants, while Alexander pressed from below. The ruins of Kal'eh Gebr, near the river Tezeng, are scattered partly on a plain, partly on a rising ground, backed by a chain of mountains; but these mountains are so high and steep, that although means may perhaps exist of attaining their summit from behind, the inhabitants of the besieged city could in no way have scaled them in front while trying to escape from Alexander. Moreover, the rising ground or bank, which runs along the foot of the mountains, and on which the ruins are scattered, would have presented no material obstacle to the advance of Alexander's soldiers.

I need scarcely allude to the town of Tashún, for independently of its topographical situation, not answering Curtius's description of the Uxian city, it may be seen, by

reference to the map, that it is not far distant from the river Tab, which formed the boundary line between Susiana and Persis, at the prolongation of the Zagros chain; whereas we read in Curtius that Alexander, after leaving the Uxian town, required three marches to arrive at the latter province. My reasons for considering the Táb or Kurdistán river the ancient limit between Susiana and Persia must be reserved for a subsequent chapter.*

* See "Essay on the Marches of Timúr and Alexander," &c., at the end of this volume.

CHAPTER XIX.

Account of the Bakhtiyari tribes of Luristán-Buzúrg.—Division of the country into Luristán-Buzúrg and Luristán-Kuchúk.—Known to the ancients as the country of the *Cossæans*, *Uxians*, and *Elamites*.—Traces of its ancient civilization.—Ibn Batuta's account of *El-Lúr* under the Atabegs.—Communication between India and Central Persia.—No caravans cross it at present.—A short historical account of the Bakhtiyari.—A colony of this tribe in Afghanistán.—The Bakhtiyari divided into Chehar-lang and Heft-lang.—Muhammed Taghi-Khan.—Anecdote concerning him, &c.—Annual taxation of the Bakhtiyari Chehar-lang.—Bakhtiyari Heft-lang.—Subdivision of the tribe.—Geographical aspect of the country to the north of the Alvend range.—Sedentary and nomadic Bakhtiyari.—Taxation.—Feuds between the Bakhtiyari Chehar-lang and Heft-lang.—Their predatory habits.—Tenets.—Character.—Occupations.—Produce of the country.—Their sheep brought to the market of Isfahán.—Arab horses.—Features and external appearance.—Dress.—*Ghiveh*.

The mountainous region extending from the Turkish frontier on the west, to the dependences of Behbehán on the east and south-east,

is known by the name of *Luristán* (the country of the *Lur* tribes), which is divided into the *greater* and the *lesser*, or *Luristán-Buzúrg* and *Luristán-Kuchúk*.

The largest rivers of Persia—the *Kerkheh*, with its tributary, the *Kashgán;* the *Kuren*, with the *Dizful* river, and the numerous affluents forming the *Táb*, or *Kurdistán*,—all flow through this part of the country, fertilizing the soil; so that Lúristán might be one of the most favoured spots in the world, were the mountaineers who inhabit it of a less turbulent disposition, or the power of the Persian Government more efficient to keep them within proper bounds, and more anxious to encourage agriculture and trade in the empire.

According to ancient writers, it would appear, that since the remotest ages of the world, these mountains have constantly been the seat of an uncouth and warlike race of men, who set at defiance the authority of the Medes and the Persians, and in whose fastnesses, Alexander

of Macedon on the eastern extremity,* and, at a later period, Antigonus on the western boundary,† met with such unforeseen impediments and strong opposition at the hands of the mountain clans.

Still when we look upon the remains of ancient towns and other monuments of antiquity in eastern Luristán, or Luristán-Buzúrg, which have been described in the preceding chapters, such as at *Petek*, at *Bághi-Malek*, (Manjanik), at *Mál-Amír*, at *Tenghi-Saúlek*, at *Tashún*, &c., with the massive causeways in the mountains, we must come to the conclusion, that there was a time when these portions of the globe had attained a much greater degree of civilization, than that which it now offers. History, however, is more or less silent or unsatisfactory on the subject, and does not furnish us with positive data, so as to enable us to judge by whom those cities were founded, nor in what age they flourished. But so far at least we know, that we must

* See Q. Curtius, b. v., c. iii.

† Pliny, b. vi., c. xxi.

look to this region for the site of ancient *Elymaïs.** The first pages of the Holy Scriptures teach us that the land of *Elam* was a powerful and warlike kingdom under *Chedorlaomer*, in the early period of the world, at the time when Abram tended his flocks in the plain of Mamre,† whilst we learn of its final fate and destruction in the prophecies of Ezekiel, who held *Elam* to be among the conquering nations, which spread terror in the world, but which were soon to be brought down to hell.

"There is *Elam* and all her multitude round about her grave, all of them slain, fallen by the sword, which are gone down uncircumcised into the nether parts of the earth, which caused their terror in the land of the living; yet have they borne their shame with them that go down to the pit."‡

* See Pliny, book vi. cap. xxvii.

† See Moses in Genesis xiv. 1, 5, 9, 13.

‡ See Ezekiel xxxii. 24. *Note.* The holy Bible sometimes makes allusion to *Elam*, in connexion with *Media* and *Persia*. (See Isa. xxi. 2; Ezra iv. 9; Dan. viii. 2, &c.)

It is in the fastnesses of the *Elymites* that Diodorus Siculus, Justin, and Pliny place the rich temples dedicated to the Goddess *Anaïtis*, which tempted the cupidity of the Seleucidæ and of the Parthian monarchs;* but it must have been chiefly during the Sasanian period that the land of Elymais rose to wealth and prosperity.

If the presence of bas-reliefs with arrow-headed inscriptions, are certain signs of antiquity, the cave of Mál-Amír and the ruins of Shushán† have a claim to that title, especially if we take into consideration that the dress of one of the figures in the cave of Shikáfti-Salmán bears traces of cuneiform inscriptions. The great German writer, Heeren, in speaking of the bas-reliefs at Bisitun (which he attributes to the times of Cyrus), adds:

"Even the circumstance of an inscription occurring on a dress of one of the figures (of which no example is to be found elsewhere),

* See Diod. Sic. fr. lib. xix.

† See note in chapter xvii.

appears to argue a remote era in the history of the art,"* &c.

In chapter eighteen of the present work I have endeavoured to establish the identity of the mounds formed on the plain of Mál-Amír with the city besieged by Alexander the Great, while the greater part of the other ruins appear of a posterior date, and, to judge by the style of the architecture, seem to denote a Sasanian origin.

On the bas-reliefs and inscriptions at *Tenghi-Saúlek* I abstain from giving any opinion; but as they are so different from all the other antiquities I have met with in Persia, I hope they may attract the attention of some learned antiquary who will favour the public with the result of his researches on the subject.

In the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries the Bakhtiyari country was under the sway of chiefs known by the name of

* See Heeren's Historical Researches, &c., vol. i., chap. i., p. 227. I believe among the ruins of Hadramaut, in Arabia, some figures with cuneatic inscriptions on them have been lately discovered.

Atabegs of Luristán Buzúrg, the founder of which dynasty, according to De Guignes,* was a certain *Abutaher*, who was sent by *Sancor*, a Chief of the Salgurian Turkomans, to conquer that land.

Ibn Batutá, the Arabian traveller who traversed this country in the fourteenth century, gives a very favourable account of it.

" After leaving Toster (the present Shushter), says the author, I then travelled for three days over high mountains, and found in every stage in these countries, a cell, with food for the accommodation of travellers. I then came to the city of *Idhaj* (Eidij), which belongs to the Sultan Atabek Afrasiab. With these people the word *atabek* means any one governing a district. The country is called *El-Lur*. It abounds with high mountains, and has roads cut in the rocks.† The extent in length is seventeen

* See De Guignes Hist. gle. des Huns, tom. i., liv. vii., art. x., p. 410, and, in a note at the end of this chapter, an extract concerning *Luristán* from Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia.

† See for the description of the Jaddehi-Atabeg, Chapter xvii.

days' journey, in breadth ten. Its king sends presents to the King of Irak, and sometimes comes to see him. In every one of the stations in this country there are cells provided for the religious inquirers, and travellers; and for every one who arrives there are bread, flesh, and sweetmeats. I travelled for ten days in this country, over high mountains, with ten other religious, &c."*

We may infer from this passage that Luristán Buzurg, during the government of the Atabegs, must have enjoyed a great degree of security, and even prosperity, since such facilities were afforded to caravans of pilgrims and travellers passing through their country.

Ahváz, which was formerly the capital of Khúzistán,† kept up a brisk trade with India. The merchandise from Hindustán, instead of being carried to Abú-Shéhr (as is the case at

* See Lee's Translation of Ibn Batuta, chapter vii.

† *Ahváz* was for a time the winter residence of the Arsacid monarchs, who spent their summer months at Isfahán.

present), was brought to Ahváz, up the river Kúren; from thence transported to *Toster* (Shushter), partly by water and partly by land carriage. From the latter place a straight caravan road led to Isfahán over the mountains, and thus through *Savéh* to *Kazvín* and *Abhár*, and later to *Sultanieh*, that great commercial mart of Central Persia in the middle ages.

This line of communication between Isfahán and the Persian Gulf, near the mouth of the Shat-al-Arab no longer exists; *Ahvaz* is fallen; and, although the trade might still be kept up in some measure between Khuzistán and Irak-Ajem, no caravans dare at present cross through the country of the Bakhtiyari for fear of being plundered. Muleteers, who traverse Persia in all possible directions, are seldom seen in Lúristán.

Lúristán Buzurg is occupied by the strong tribe of the *Bakhtiyari*. To judge by their language, which is a broken Persian, with many old words and expressions now obsolete,

or what the Persians call the *Fársi-Kadim*, one may infer that the Bakhtiyari are the ancient occupiers of the soil.* This dialect, with some modifications, is said to be common to all the tribes of the Zagros range. The principal tribes to which I refer are the *Lurs* (of whom the Bakhtiyari form part),† the *Leks*, and the *Kurds*.

These three great stems represent probably

* There is a passage in Pliny which may be applied to the Bakhtiyari; and, although it be difficult to point out the exact situation of the country of the Bactrians he alludes to, it could not have been very far from their present haunts. He says, that the nearest neighbours of Susiana to the east, were the *Cossians;* to the north of whom, at the foot of Mount *Cambalide*, a branch of the Caucasus, was situated the district of Mesabatene, which affords a less rough passage than elsewhere, *leading into the country of the Bactrians.* (Pliny, lib. vi., c. 27.)

† Mr. Rich, in his "Narrative of a Residence in Kúrdistán," expresses his opinion that the *Bakhtiyari* are *Kurds*, owing to the similarity of their languages, which is a dialect of the *Luristán Kurdish.* (See vol. i., chap. iv., page 130.) Although the *Lurs* and the *Kúrds* make now a distinction between their tribes, still, as the language they use is common to both, it is evident they proceed from the same stock.

the kernel of the original *Zend* race, settled in these mountains from time immemorial, before the country was overrun by the Arabs from one side and by the Tatar hordes from the other; although we learn from history that the land of Irán, since the remotest antiquity, was seldom exempt from the encroachments of the *Semetic* races from the south, and the *Scythians*, or the *Túrani*, from the northern and the central parts of Asia, from whence the Zend tribes themselves originally came.*

In modern times we find the Bakhtiyari often appearing as actors on the political stage of Persia, and performing a conspicuous part in the history of that country.

We read in Hanway,† that at the time of the Afghán invasion of Persia, in the beginning of the last century, *Kassim-Khan*, a Bakhtiyari Chief, left his mountains with

* See note at the end of the chapter, about the gypsies.

† See Jonas Hanway's "Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea," &c., vol. ii., part vii., chap. ii., p. 168, ed. 1764.

12,000 horse to tender his services to Shah Sultán Husein, and moved towards Isfahán, but was met and defeated by the troops of Amanullah-Khan Afghán; 2,000 of his men were killed and the rest fled. The above-cited author is of opinion, that had there existed a better understanding at the time between the Bakhtiyari and the Vali of Luristán, the Afgháns might have been repulsed and Isfahán saved.*

During the Afghán occupation of Persia, the Turks made considerable inroads into the western provinces of this empire, and whilst Akhmed-Pasha, of Bagdad, was taking possession of Luristán-Kuchúk, the Pasha of Mosúl made an incursion into the country of the Bakhtiyari. *Seffi* (or more likely Shefi) Khan, one of their Chiefs, who offered some resistance, was defeated; and fled into the mountains. Notwithstanding this check, the Bakhtiyari

* See Jonas Hanway's "Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea," &c., vol. ii., part vii., chap. ii., p. 169, ed. 1764.

still continued to annoy the enemy by frequent skirmishes, and succeeded at last in driving them out of their country.*

During the reign of Nadir-Shah the Bakhtiyari rebelled; and it was not until their Chief *Ali-Murad* had been executed, and the king had removed several thousand *Lurish* families into Khorasán, that tranquillity was for a time restored.† It proved, however, not of long duration, for 2,000 Bakhtiyari families found means to escape from that province and returned to their native hills, where rallying a considerable number of their countrymen in their cause, they raised once more the standard of rebellion, and Nadir Shah had great difficulties to contend with in order to stifle a general rising of the whole tribe.‡ Those Bakhtiyari who accompanied him in his expe-

* See Jonas Hanway's "Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea," &c., vol. ii., p. 238.

† Sir J. Malcolm's "History of Persia," vol. ii., p. 67.

‡ See M. Otter's "Voyage en Turquie et en Perse," tom. ii., p. 187.

dition to India, distinguished themselves most particularly at the siege of Herat.*

It is very likely that a part of this tribe settled at the time in Afghánistán, for we read in Mountstuart Elphinstone's work on that country, that "the *Miankhail* are about 3,000 families, of which number one-fourth is composed of *Bakhtiyaris* of this tribe, which is said to have come originally from the banks of the Tigris, and which is very numerous in the south-west of Persia; there are about 700 or 800 families at *Deranbend*, and about 500 at Murgha."†

During the anarchy which ensued after the death of Nadir-Shah, *Ali-Merdan-Khan*, a Bakhtiyar Chief, took possession of Isfahán, where he reigned for some time, jointly with *Kerim-Khan-Zend*, until the latter contrived to put him aside, and assumed the title of *Vakil*.‡

* See Sir J. Malcolm's "History of Persia," vol. ii., p. 67.

† See Elphinstone's "Mission to the Court of Cabul," p. 376.

‡ See Sir J. Malcolm's "History of Persia."

Notwithstanding the hostages whom the late Fet'h-'Ali-Shah kept at Teherán, where a separate *maháleh* or quarter was allotted for them, the Bakhtiyari still continued to be very troublesome to their neighbours, and in consequence of their predatory habits, the roads in southern and central Persia became very insecure. At the time M. Morier passed through Isfahán,* the town was in a continual state of alarm lest Assad-Khan, a fierce Chief of the *Heft-lang Bakhtiyari* should take it by a *coup de main.*

Even those families who were settled near the capital, on the high road from Teherán to Hamadán, in order that Government should be enabled to have a better eye on them, plundered travellers in open day with impunity.†

* See M. Morier's "Second Journey through Persia," &c., chap. ix., page 156.

† On a journey to Hamadán in 1837, I passed over some broken hilly ground between the first and second station of Teherán, which was pointed out to me as the spot where the Bakhtiyari used to waylay travellers.

If the effects of their marauding propensities have been less felt of late years, it is owing partly to their bloody feuds which have weakened them, and partly to the strong arm of the Governor to whose charge the Bakhtiyari tribe have been committed.

The two principal tribes of the Bakhtiyari are, the *Chehar-lang* and the *Haft-lang*. The latter were formerly reckoned the stronger of the two, but in consequence of intestine wars they have been much reduced; whilst the former have acquired new possessions, and gained with them greater power.

The *Taifeh*, or tribe of the *Chehar-lang*, is subdivided into *tiréh* or shafts, which will be found enumerated in the accompanying table, together with the description of their summer and winter residences, the names of the different petty Chiefs, &c.

There is likewise a small village inhabited by Bakhtiyaris, close to Shah-Abdúl Azim, in the neighbourhood of Teherán.

Division of the Tribes		Subdivision of the Tribes	Names of the Chiefs, or Rish-Sefid.	Winter Encampments, or Germesir.	Summer Encampments, or Serhád.	Observations.
LUR TRIBES. BAKHTIYARI.	Chehár-Lang	Kumursi	Muhammed Taghi-Khan	Kaléh-Túl	Near the sources of the Zoyénderúd in Zardah-Kúh; Fereidan and partly in Chehár-Máhal.	Although the different tribes have each their petty chiefs, the greater part of them are dependant of Muhammed Taghi-Khan.
		Suhúni	Shefi-Khan	Gúlghir		
		Muhammed Saleh	Muhammed Mehdi-Khan	Andekoú		
		Múghui	Hajji Abas-Khan			
		Buskhok	Muhammed Kerim-Khan	Sardásht, on the plains of Ram-Hormúz and Shúshter		
		Aúdilvend	Hajji Nasir-Khan			
		Zalaghi	Ali Naghi-Khan-Sarder			
		Fuladvend	Kasim-Khand and Ali Muhammed Khan			
	Haft-Lang	Dúreki: Dúreki	Kelb-Ali-Khan, whose chief place is at Kaléh-Diz, or Diz-Shéhi.	Sardásht, and near Dizful.	Chegóhár, Silahúr, Burburud, Jopelah, and Chehár-Máhal.	The Bakhtiyari Haft-Lang are under the jurisdiction of Búrújird.
		Dúreki: Bábádi				
		Mamivend				
		Zalaghi				
		Lek				
		Ashtiraki				
		Burburudi				
		Bakhtiyarvend	Jafar Kuli-Khan, whose principal fort is Diz-Malekán.	Lali and Diz-Malekan.	Zari, near the sources of the Kuren river, in Zardah-Kúh.	
	Dinárúni	Bawaï, Urak and Saluh: According to Major Rawlinson.	Muhammed Taghi-Khan.	Desfort-Shushan.	Koribo Dinar. (Bazuft, according to Rawlinson.)	Major Rawlinson divides them into *Janneki-Garmesir* and Janneki-Sardasir, and adds, that in both these divisions half the number are Deh-Nishins, who do not emigrate at all.
		Gugirdi or Gulgiri		Khári-Shútúr-Zar and Gulgir.	Hills of Mungasht.	
DEPENDENCIES.	Junaki	Makavendi		Jaúrú, near Taúleh.	Gandomán and Lurdagán.	
		Arab Gomish		Between Mál-Amír and Gúlgir.		
		Múmbéni		Near the Snowy Hills and the Kuren.		
		Bulveïsi		Near Kal'eh-Tul.		
	Zenghánéh			Petek and Manjanik.		The Zenghánéh are a Kurdish tribe from Kermansháh.
	Gúndúzlu			Gúlgir and Baitavend.		The Gúndúzlu are Afshars, of Turkish extraction.

The same table gives the divisions and subdivisions of the *Haft-lang*, and the other tribes which form the dependencies of the Bakhtiyari.

Muhammed Taghi-Khan is at present the most powerful chief among the Chehar-langs. Independently of this tribe, (of which a great part recognise his authority, as well as the *Dinarúni* and all the Janéki,) Muhammed Taghi-Khan is in possession of the strong fort of *Múngásht*, which formerly belonged to the Chief of Behbehán. The *Bakhmei* tribe, who were likewise under the sway of the latter, have now sought the protection of the Bakhtiyari Chief, who since a few years exercises also an authority over *Ram Hormúz*, the former dependency of Mirza Kúmo, of Behbehán. In the Mahál of *Fereidán*, which forms part of the province of Isfahán, and where the Bakhtiyari have their pasture-grounds in summer, Muhammed Taghi-Khan possesses several villages, the inhabitants of which are agricultural. Muhammed Taghi-Khan (who is allied

to the *Janéki* through his mother, and descends in direct line from Ali Merdán-Khan, who reigned in Isfahán after the death of Nadir-Shah,) owes his present greatness chiefly to his own abilities. It is true he never was over and above scrupulous as to the means he employed to attain his ambitious views, and in this respect—be it said to the shame of humanity—he does not stand alone. Thus he treacherously put to death his kinsman, *Hasan-Khan*, and *Fet'h-ullah-Khan*, and took possession of their territories. The sons of the deceased, *Ali-Kiza-Khan*, *Asád-Khan*, and their two younger brothers, have sought protection with his enemy, the Haft-lang Chief, *Jafár-Kúli-Khan*, who resides at his fortified castle of *Diz-Málekán*.

In his younger days, Muhammed Taghi-Khan was accustomed to lead his countrymen on plundering expeditions, where he reaped great renown for personal bravery and address. I was told an anecdote of him, which, if it does not redound to his honour, at least does

credit to his inventive genius. Being one day on a foray with his followers, at some distance from their mountain fastnesses, they fell in with a rich caravan of merchants, who were proceeding from Isfahán to Teherán. The Bakhtiyari soon succeeded in capturing them, and taking possession of their goods; but, apprehending lest a pursuit should be set on foot against them before they could gain their mountains, if they allowed their captives to depart, and fearing, also, that putting them to death would equally lead to detection, Muhammed Taghi-Khan had recourse to the following stratagem:—Among the plundered articles there happened to be a great many *chadders*, a thick stuff for veils, with which the women of Persia cover themselves from head to foot when they go out. Muhammed Taghi-Khan had the merchants dressed in this novel apparel, and replaced, hand-cuffed, on their own horses; they were then given in charge to his men, with strict injunctions that should any of them dare to speak a word when any

stranger was in hearing, he should be shot through the head. Thus the party journeyed on for several days, keeping, as much as the nature of the country would allow, off the high road, and avoiding villages. The country people who passed them never suspected that there was any foul play going on, but imagined it was a caravan of pilgrims going with their wives and families to Kerbeláh or Mecca, and even kept aloof from a feeling of decorum, when they saw so many women in the party. When the Bakhtiyari had gained their mountains, and saw themselves out of reach of pursuit, they released their prisoners and left them to shift for themselves, as well as they could, whilst they made off with their booty to their families, elated with their success, and exulting in their chieftain's sagacity.

Muhammed Taghi-Khan is probably a man of forty or forty-five, strongly built, and of a pleasant exterior. His younger brother, *Ali Naghi-Khan*, is reckoned to be more subtle

and cunning. He was kept some time as a hostage at Teherán, but found means to elude observation, and one fine morning took to his heels and sought for refuge with the Moétemid at Isfahán. The latter obtained for him the forgiveness of the Shah, and afterwards took him with him into the Bakhtiyari mountains; where I met this Ali Naghi-Khan following obsequiously in the train of the Governor of Isfahán. On my return to Teherán, after leaving Luristán, I learned that both the brothers had offered resistance to the Moétemid; Muhammed Taghi-Khan was soon defeated and taken, but Ali Naghi-Khan fled towards the Arabs of the desert.

The Chehar-langs are taxed at 15,000 tomans, but it is rare that this tax can be regularly levied, for it is only by main force that they can be compelled to pay it.

We have seen that the *Bakhtiyari Chehar-lang* occupy the south-eastern valley of the Zagros range, from Dizfúl and Shúshter to the territory of Behbehán; to the north and north-

west of them live the *Bakhtiyari Haft-lang.* Their territory to the west extends to the river of Dizfúl, and one of its tributaries the Cesár* river, which separates Luristán Buzurg from Pish-Kuh in Luristán-Kuchúk.

Like their neighbours, the tribes of the *Haft-lang*, are divided into *tireh* or shafts, and possess at present two principal chiefs, who are not in harmony with each other. These are *Kelb-Ali Khan*, in his stronghold of *Kal'eh*, or *Shahi Diz*, on the Dizfúl river, between the town of that name and Burujírd; and *Jafar Kúli Khan*, whose principal fort is *Diz-Malegán* at some distance from Shushán, near the Kurén river.

As many of the places mentioned in the subjoined table, forming the summer and winter residences of these Iliyats, are not marked on any map, it may not appear superfluous to point out here their geographical

* The *Cesár* river joins the Dizfúl somewhat lower than the spot where the Pirí Shah Zade Akhméd is situated, a place of pilgrimage among the Lurs.

position, the more so as the accompanying maps in illustration of my journey do not embrace the northern declivities of the Alvend chain.

From *Burujírd*, eastward, extend the plains of *Silahúr* and *Burburúd*, along the northern skirts of the great chain, to the cool *yelakhs*, or summer residence of *Ushturún-kúh*, the highest point between the *Alvend* and the *Zerde-kúh*, with its copious springs and rich pastures of Fèhtabád. Further on is the fertile valley of *Jopelág*,* studded with numerous villages, which joins with the plains of *Fereidán*, *Chehar-mahal*, and *Chemén-i-Keviz*, in the province of Isfahán.

It is in Fereidán that the famous grazing plains of *Ghendumein* are situated, where the

* As the French traveller, M. Otter, does not mention his having passed through the town of *Gulpeigán*, in the narrative of his journey from *Burujírd* to *Hunsár*, on his way to Isfahán, it is likely that he followed the northern skirts of the *Alvénd* chain, through the valleys of Silahúr, Burburúd, and Jopelág. (See Otter, "Voyage en Turquie et en Perse.")

late Fet'h-Ali-Sháh was accustomed to spend part of the summer months.

The above-named plains run between two mountain ranges; those to the south being the continuation of the *Alvend* chain, whose heights appear always to be covered with snow; and those to the north forming a secondary range, like a series of outworks. This latter chain, though much lower than the former, is still sufficiently lofty, and, in some parts, very rugged; it goes by the name of *Rosvend*, a word which sounds very much like some of the old Zend names of mountains.

To the north of this lower range are spacious and fertile valleys, bounded in their turn, to the north, by other mountains of lesser altitude, and separated from each other by spurs of hills, which shoot from the *Rosvend* across the valleys. These latter, taken in succession from north-west to south-east, form the districts of *Kezós*, *Kemereh*, *Gulpeigán*, and *Hunsár;* while to the north of them, beyond the third range of hills, are, *Meloir*, with its chief town *Daulet-abád*

(formerly *Chemín*); *Charrá*, *Shehr-ná*, or *Sultanabád*, *Feraghán*, and *Mahalat*.

The succession of these Alpine chains, running parallel to each other, and lowering as they recede to the north from the principal chain of the *Alvend*, is pretty nearly repeated on the southern side of the same chain, where the secondary mountains diminish in height as they approach the Persian Gulf.

The *Bakhtiyari Haft-lang* are under the government of Burujírd. Those who lead a wandering life are not less wild than their rival clan of the *Chehar-lang*; but many have adopted a sedentary life and occupy villages, especially in *Burburúd*, where they till the ground and are assessed by Government like the other cultivators of the soil. Thus the 195 villages of Burburúd are taxed by the Diván at 7,873 tomans in cash and 530 harvars of grain; whilst the Iliyat Bakhtiyari, who are more numerous, only pay 3,600 tomans.

Some of the Haft-lang chiefs farm from Government whole districts; for instance, that of *Kemeréh*, with all its villages, was leased a

few years ago to a Bakhtiyari chief for the annual sum of 12,000 tomans.

There exists a great animosity between the two tribes of the *Haft-lang* and *Chehar-lang*, and their conflicts, which originate chiefly on account of their grazing grounds, often terminate in blood-shed. It has been seen that the Chehar-langs have their summer pastures at *Fereidán*, while those of the Haft-langs are in *Chehar-Mahál*. In order to reach them, both tribes must cross the chain of *Zerdeh-Kúh*, the former coming from the south-west to north-east, and the latter from north-west to south-east. It is at the points where the paths cross each other in the mountain passes, that the rival clans come to blows, each trying to capture as many sheep as they can from the other. On the plains of Fereidán and Chehar-Mahál they both become the scourge of the *Tóts*, or peasants of these two bulúks or districts. Formerly there were a great number of villages, especially of Armenian and Georgian settlers, from the time of Shah-Abbas the Great, as the ground is very fertile, the usual increase of grain being from

twenty to thirty fold. The plains, likewise, are well watered; but since the Government has neglected or become unable to restrain the plundering habits of the Bakhtiyari, the villages have been in a great measure ruined, and the inhabitants reduced to poverty. Out of the thirty-six large Armenian villages in *Chehar-Mahál* only five remain; all the rest having been destroyed by the Bakhtiyari.

These wild tribes profess outwardly the Muhammedan creed, and are of the *Shiáh* sect, like many other Persians. But, with the exception, perhaps, of a few of their chiefs, the greater part appear to be even more ignorant and indifferent to matters of religion than the generality of the Nomadic tribes of Persia. As they live chiefly in tents, and lead a wandering life, they have few or no mosques, but go sometimes in pilgrimage to the shrines of their *Piri*, or holy men, such as *Shah-Zadéh Akhmed*, *Shah-Rubén*, and others. The women pay more attention to religious observances than the male part of the population.

Some curious and interesting superstitions

undoubtedly exist among the Bakhtiyari; but I must own that I have not been fortunate enough to become acquainted with them, owing to the very short time I was among them.

The Bakhtiyari bear a very bad reputation among the Persians. Although the latter are themselves not over and above scrupulous as regards veracity, they are outdone by the Bakhtiyari in duplicity and bad faith.

The feuds which exist between the different clans create inveterate hatred, and keep up an unquenchable thirst for revenge, which sentiment is bequeathed as a sacred legacy from father to son, from tribe to tribe, and extinguishes all feeling of humanity in their breasts. To this already sufficiently dark picture of their character, must be added, that they are such notorious thieves and robbers, that the name of *Bakhtiyar* is become synonymous with both these words.

The chief occupation of the Bakhtiyari, like those of all Nomadic tribes, consists in tending large flocks of sheep, which form their

chief support and greatest source of wealth. These flocks, during the winter season, retire to the warm plains of Arabistán, and on the approach of spring are driven, by slow marches, over the mountains into the plains of Fereidán and Chehar-Mahál. Independently of the advantages the Bakhtiyari reap from the wool and the milk of their flocks, the sale of their sheep is an abundant source of revenue to them in summer, for it is they who, together with the *Kashgaï* (a powerful Turkish tribe from Fars), furnish the markets of Isfahán with mutton during four months in the year.

The cattle necessary for the consumption of Isfahán is brought from distant parts of the country. Thus Kermanshâh, Meloir, and Kurdistán (Ardelán), supply this old capital (which even now reckons from 70,000 to 80,000 inhabitants) with mutton during two-thirds of the year, and the *Lurs* and Turkish tribes of *Fars* the remaining one-third.

Although the sheep from Kermanshâh and Kurdistán are excesssively lean when they

arrive at Isfahán, and require some time to be brought into condition, still they are preferred in winter to those of the *Bakhtiyari* and the *Kashgaï*, because, as coming from a more northern climate, they stand the cold better than the sheep which spend their winters in the warm pastures of the southern districts of Fars and Khúzistán.

Even the bazaars of Teherán are stocked with Kurdistán mutton, the sheep from this part of the country being of a larger size than the ordinary species, and fetching a higher price.

The country of the *Janeki Serhád* and *Ghermesír* grows much tobacco, which supplies the bazaars of Shúshter and Dizfúl. The woody parts of Lúristán produce the wild cherry-tree called *Beroline*, which is used for chúbúks, and forms a considerable article of commerce, although the trade in it might be still more extensive.

The Bakhtiyari have a hardy race of horses, of a middle stature, about the usual size of

the Arab horse, and a good deal of the blo of the latter runs in their veins. They a exceedingly fleet, sure-footed, and soft-mouthe very manageable also, and capable of climbi up mountains with the agility and fearlessne of mountain-goats. Among the richer Bak tiyari I met with many *Chá'b* Arab hors which are taller than the Nejd-Arab, a resemble more those of the island of *Bahre* The *Chá'b* Arab horse is justly prized in Pers In fact, I never witnessed a greater displ of beautiful Arab-blood horses than on t plains of Mál-Amír at the camp of the Bak tiyari Chief, Muhammed Taghi-Khan; for the Court of the Shah of Persia the Turkom horses are preferred to the Arab; and amo the former the *Tekéh* breed is the most esteem for its size, power, and faculties of endurance.

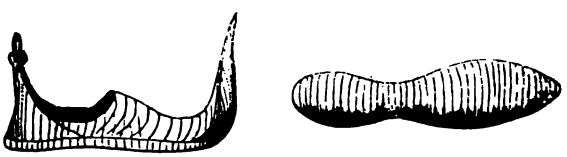
The horned cattle of the Bakhtiyari are mu praised; their mules are likewise held in gr estimation, but I met with very few of eith in the course of my excursion through t country, because the cattle were at that ti

of the year driven to their winter pastures in the south.

In appearance the Bakhtiyari look rather fierce, owing, probably, to the mode of life they lead; the features of their face are cast in a rough mould; but although coarse, they are in general regular. Their black eyes look wild and expressive. The complexion of their face, as well as the other parts of the body which happen to be exposed to the sun, is exceedingly dark, with some nearly of a mahogany colour. The two black tufts of hair behind their ears give them, if possible, a still darker appearance. The Bakhtiyari are muscularly built, and are chiefly of a middle stature.

The usual upper dress of the common Bakhtiyari is a felt coat with short sleeves; and as the stuff is very stiff, the lower part of the coat stands out. The round cap is of the same material, and worn close to the head. The lower garment consists of a short cotton shirt, and trowsers; the legs are sometimes laced in

leather gaiters. These Iliyats wear knitted cotton sandals, with broad leather soles to them, rising in front like the point of a skate, to preserve the toes from the ruggedness of the mountain paths.



Ghiveh or Sandals of the Mountaineers.

These shoes, which are called *ghivéh*, are very useful in climbing up the mountains. In my frequent rambles over the hills of Persia in quest of herbs, or on visits to the ruined Gebr forts, I have always found the *ghivéh* not only more convenient than our European-fashioned boots, but even safer in the slippery and dangerous parts of the rocks.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XIX.

Page 67.—Extracts from Sir John Malcolm's "History of Persia," concerning the Atabegs of Laristán:—

"The Attabegs of Laristan, though their power was more limited than those of Fars, nevertheless merit to be briefly mentioned. That wild and mountainous country had been inhabited from the most early ages by rude barbarians, whose submission has hardly ever been complete, even to the most powerful monarchs of Persia. Most of the tribes of Laristan are an aboriginal race, and the language at present spoken in that province is a dialect of the Pehlivi. The Turkish conquerors of Persia had little temptation to invade their mountains; and if they had done so, it is probable they would not have been successful; for the hardy inhabitants cherished an independence, which Nature had made it easy for them to defend. Accident, however, rendered this proud and savage race subject, for a considerable time, to chiefs of foreign descent.

"In the various migrations of the tribes of Tartary, several of them have, at different periods, either come or been brought from the plains of Syria into Persia: a hundred of one of these tribes had been welcomed to the mountains of Laristan. We are informed, that at a great feast given by a Chief of that country, some youths of the Syrian tribe were present; and the steward of the entertainment carried, by mistake, the first dish to a Syrian, called Abul Hussein, upon whose mind this incident made a deep impression; and he observed to his friends, that he felt assured what had occurred was an omen of that great-

ness which his family was destined to attain. This interpretation of the mistake of the steward was rumoured abroad, and occasioned some jealousy between the tribes. It happened, a few days afterwards, that Aly, the son of Abul Hussein, had a quarrel with some men of the opposite tribe, when in the hills where they were feeding their flocks. The men of Laristan fell upon him, and beat him till they conceived he was dead, and then threw him into a cave. His dog, unable to defend his master, retired to a distance, but watched the murderers as they returned; and, seeing the man stoop who had been the most active in the assault, flew at his throat, and tore it in so desperate a manner that he instantly expired. After taking this revenge, the animal ran howling to the tents of his master's family, who, observing it without Aly, instantly anticipated some misfortune: and in this they were confirmed by the dog turning round, and, while it continued to howl, running off towards the mountains. They followed it to the cave into which the unfortunate Aly had been cast. He was found in a dreadful state, but not dead, and lived to relate all that had happened. A feud between the small tribe of Syrians and that of Laristan was the consequence of this occurrence. The first result of this feud was the departure of the family of Aly to the province of Fars, where his eldest son acquired great fame as a soldier. But his grandson, Abou-Taher, became still more renowned; and the valour he displayed in an attack on Shuban Karrah (a small fortified village in the district of Deishestan, situated a few miles from Abusheher) pleased Attabeg Sunkur so much, that he desired him to demand what he chose. 'Give me

a horse,' said the youth, 'that will bear me proudly on the day of battle.' 'Ask again,' said Sunkur. 'If you do not deem it improper,' said Abou-Tahir, 'create me an Attabeg.' 'Ask again,' was the reply. 'Then grant me some troops, and I will reduce to your authority the tribes of Laristan.' The Attabeg complied with all these requests, and the young soldier marched with a force of 5,000 men, into the country from which his grandfather had been compelled to depart. His fame and courage, aided by the support of his tribe, and by that impression which the most trifling circumstance often makes upon ignorant and superstitious minds, gave him complete success; and that fortune which Abul Hussein had anticipated for his family, was realized in the person of his grand-grandson, Abou-Tahir. Gratitude, however, does not appear to have been among the virtues of the fortunate young chief, whose first act, after his power was confirmed, was to throw off his allegiance to the ruler of Fars; and we are told that he left his son Hasar-Asp, the independent rule of the whole of Laristan. And that prince, by his courage and wisdom, not only raised that rugged province to as great a state of prosperity as it has ever enjoyed, but added to the possessions of his family by the conquest of several neighbouring districts. He invited a large body of his own tribe, of Emâks, from Syria; and their settlement in Laristan added greatly to the strength of his government. Hasar-Asp was succeeded in his authority by his son, Tokhlah, who was Attabeg when Hulakoo-Khan overthrew the empire of the Caliphs. Tokhlah unfortunately fell under the displeasure of that powerful sovereign, by whom he was made prisoner, and carried to Tabriz,

leaving Laristan to his brother, Oulub Arghoun, who, with his descendants, became officers of the Moghul Prince of the house of Chenghiz. It is needless to recapitulate their names. The most renowned of them was Yusuph Shah Bahander. The title of Bahander, we are informed, was given to this chief by Sultan Abaka, on account of the great valour he displayed at the head of the troops in Laristan, in a campaign in Ghilan. He received a still more substantial reward for these services, by being appointed governor of several rich provinces, adjoining to that which he had inherited," &c. (Vol. i. page 390, and following of the 4to. edition, 1815.)

Page 71.—Dr. Trithen, the eminent Sanscrit and Zend scholar, has kindly pointed out to me a passage in a recent German work of Dr. Pott's, concerning the gipsies in Europe and Asia,* wherein the author seeks for an identity between that tribe and the *Luri* or *Lurs* of Persia. His supposition rests, I believe, on the authority of Pottinger, who establishes a similarity between the Luris of Beluchistán and the gipsies in Europe.† In adverting to this subject, I beg leave to observe, that the *Karachi*, *Káúli*, and *Sumani*, under which appellations the gipsies are known in Persia, are perfectly distinct from the *Luri* or *Lur* tribes.

The gipsies in the northern parts of Persia, where they

---

* See "Die Ziegeuner in Europa und Asien," part i. page 62.

† "Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde," &c., chapter x. page 153.

lead a wandering life, but always aloof from the other erratic tribes, go by the name of *Karachi*, from the Turkish word *kara*, meaning *black*. They exercise the trade of *tinkers*, and are consulted at times as horse doctors; but they are in general looked down upon by the inhabitants settled in towns and villages, and even by the other Nomadic tribes. In Kermanshah and Kurdistán, where their number is very considerable, they also lead a vagabond life, and are known by the denominations of *Susmani* and *Káúli*. In Ardelán, which is the Persian Kurdistán, there is a large village, near Senneh, inhabited solely by the Susmani.

The morals of these people are anything but strict; the women are like the Indian Bayadères, and dance at the Persian mejlis, or assemblies, to the music which their husbands perform on some stringed instruments. The latter are at the same time the collectors of the money their wives happen to earn. In Persia they are generally reckoned a degraded set; a belief is even current that they are the children of the devil, or at least that they are outcasts from heaven, since the *Káúli* consented to dance and make merry before the trunkless bodies of the first Imams, when they were beheaded by order of Yezid, at a time when the faithful Shia Mussulmans were plunged in bitter grief.

In a note at page 26, of the same German work we have quoted, it is mentioned that many gipsies are established near the Castle of Wittgenstein, in *Sassmanhausen*. As we have seen that the gipsies in Persia are called *Susmani*, or *Susmaniha* (in the plural), may not *Sassman-hausen* originally have derived from them its name, meaning the abode of the *Sussmani*?

There are several Iliyat tribes in Persia, the sound of whose names bears some resemblance with *Tzigane*, as the gipsies are called in Russia. These are the *Zenghench*, once a very considerable, and until now reckoned a very noble, Kurdish tribe of Kermanshah. A branch of them was also transplanted by Nadir Shah into Luristán, where another tribe of the same name of *Zenghench*, though of Lurish origin, is established.

In a woody part of Luristán Kúchúk, near Khorremabad, I met some miserable *Chinganeh* tribes settled in villages, and was told they had nothing in common with the other inhabitants of the country of Lur origin. The Chinganeh perhaps may have some affinity with the gipsy race, but I can say nothing positive on the subject, as I saw but little of them.

In conclusion, I may add that a quotation in the German author before us, from Popowich, who speaks of the *gipsy apple* as a small black fruit unfit to be eaten, reminds me of fruit which was shown me in the forests of the Zagros mountains, on the road from Kermanshah to Bagdad. The natives call it *Anguri-Káúli*, or the *grapes of the Káúli*. It is a bunch which grows on the *mázú* or gall-tree, of a yellowish transparent colour; the fruit cannot be eaten, but, on account of its glutinous property, it is sometimes used as glue.

This habit of connecting the idea of gipsies with things that are reckoned of small or no utility whatever, may proceed from the low estimate in which their race is held in Europe as well as in Asia, and explains the saying Dr. Seetzen found generally existing all over Syria, "that

there are seventy-two religions and *a-half* in the world, that half being the religion of the gipsies."

In a recent work on Bokhara, published in the Russian language, Mr. Khanikoff, the author, alludes to three tribes established there, which, he thinks, belong to the gipsy race, as well on account of the similarity in their outward appearance with that people, as in respect to their mode of life. They are called *Jughi*, *Mezeng*, and *Luli*, and though outwardly professing Muhammedanism, seem to have no religion at all.

CHAPTER XX.

Quit Mál-Amír.—Different roads leading to Shúshter.—Travel in company with the mountaineers of the Janeki tribe.—Come to an understanding with the brother of the Bakhtiyari Chief at parting.—Bridge of Harah-Zád.—Aspect of the country along the course of the Shah-Ruben.—River of Dúrúo.—Pass a comfortless night at an encampment of the Tembi tribe.—Interior of their tents.—Account of the Chá'b Arabs.—Became partially known in the last century.—Capture two English vessels.—Approximative limits of the tribe at the commencement of the Sefevi dynasty.—Encamp near Haviza.—Encroach on Dáúrák.—Repulsed by Shah-Abbas the Great.—The Vali of Haviza or Arabistán, a vassal of the Persian Crown.—Treacherous conduct of the Arab Vali during the Afghán invasion into Persia.—The Chá'b Arabs again encroach on Dáúrák and expel the Afshárs during the wars of succession in Persia.—Sheikh Suleyman.—Kerim-Khan Zend grants Hindiyán to the Chá'b Arabs.—Connexion with Persia during the reign of the late and the present Shah.—Cause of the expedition of the Pasha of Bagdad against Muhammereh.—The Sheikh declines the offer of assistance of the Bakhtiyari Chief.—The Sheikh deluded by his kinsman.—Amount of the losses sustained by the Shushteri merchants.—Muhammereh might have been easily defended.—Notes.

February 7.—I left the camp of the Governor of Isfahán and of the Bakhtiyari Chief at a-quarter past twelve, and proceeded by the plain of Mál-Amír, in a southern direction, for three-quarters of an hour; then turning to W.S.W. by west, I went in that direction three-quarters of an hour more, as far as the river Shah-Rúben, which I had crossed before on my way from Kal'eh Túl.

Two roads lead to Shúshter, one from Kal'-eh-Túl, over *Taúlah* and *Gulgir;* the other by a straight cut over the mountains. I preferred the latter, partly because I could gain a day by it, and partly because Major Rawlinson had already described the former.

The Moétemid had furnished me with a letter to Zoráb-Khan, his deputy over Shúshter and Dizfúl, and with another to Hajji Mullah Akhmed, a Chief likewise acting under his control, at Khorremábád in Lúristán-Kúchúk, with recommendations to facilitate my safe passage over the snowy ridge of Zagros to Hamadán or to Búrújird, whichever road might prove most advisable.

I was to have gone in company with a *mustofi* of Shúshter, or Secretary in the financial department, named Aga-Kèrim, who was proceeding to that city, but as he was encumbered with tents and loaded mules, I left him to follow the lower road, and set out myself with some of the mountaineers, who were returning after the parade at Mál-Amír to their encampments at Gugird or Gúlgir. They were the dependants of the younger brother of the Bakhtiyari chief, 'Ali Naghi-Khan, who came out to bid me farewell, and accompanied me part of the way. I availed myself of the opportunity of telling him that I had reason not to be much satisfied with the conduct of his elder brother, Muhammed Taghi-Khan towards me; that I was perfectly aware of the unfounded surmises he entertained as to my intention of prejudicing the Governor-in-Chief against him in the interest of Mirza Kúmo, the Hakim of Behbehán. I requested 'Ali Naghi-Khan to tell his brother, that although I was in no way accountable to him for my actions, still, for my

own satisfaction, I wished him to know that it never had been my custom to meddle in other persons' affairs; and that my journey to Shúshter and Dizfúl, undertaken to satisfy my own curiosity and thirst for travelling, would certainly not induce me to change for any one the principles by which my conduct was actuated. 'Ali Naghi-Khan, who, during the time he was a hostage at Teherán, had learned the language of courtiers, made many excuses for his brother, but spoke more of his own devoted loyalty to the Shah, and unbounded respect and gratitude to the Moétemid, with many similar protestations, which made me suspect his sincerity. He soon took his leave and returned to the camp.

On the left bank of the river Shah-Rúben, I found some brick-masonry, probably the buttresses of a bridge. The insignificant appearance of the stream made me doubt at first whether so stupendous a bridge as Zakhariyá-Kazvini describes that of *Jirzad* or *Harah-Zad* to be, could have been necessary; but this author's observation, that the river swells to

a great extent during the rainy season, and when the snow melts in the mountains (a fact which was confirmed to me by the natives), reconciled me to the idea that the bridge of *Jirzad* might have stood here.*

This supposition acquires a still greater degree of probability, from the consideration that the great caravan road between Susiana and Media must have passed this way. Close to the remains are the ruins of Halegún. Here the road turns, first to the W.N.W., and then to west; whilst the river flows in a north-west direction towards *Piri-Shah-rúben mal Seyïdi*, a place of pilgrimage for the Lúrs, reported to contain some ancient ruins. I believe that by following the course of the river Shah-rúben to its confluence with the Kúren, the inquisitive traveller would find objects that would amply repay him for the pains; because the valley in which it flows appears green and fertile, as far as the eye can reach, and must have been at all times a favourite resort, from

* See note at the end of the chapter.

the contrast it affords to the barren rocks that surround it.

To the left of Nútergi is the village of Ablah.

Close to the road we passed by a square building, called Kuruk, and a burying-place, full of white lions, which serve for tomb-stones.

After traversing a hilly country, and crossing the river of *Duruo*, said to empty itself into the Kúren, we struck to the south-west, and, following the direction in which a flock of sheep were driven by some highland shepherds, alighted for the night at a Bakhtiyari encampment of the *Tembi* tribe, having travelled three or three and a-half farsangs (eleven miles).

The tent into which we were ushered was crammed with the various articles appertaining to an Iliyat family, consisting usually of a great number of bags of all dimensions and descriptions, in which their whole property is stowed away. Sacks filled with wool occupied one part of the tent; lesser ones, with dried

curds, lay in another corner. Goat-skins, with the hair inside, were filled with sour milk; others inflated with water; the mixture of both these fluids with a little addition of salt, being the favourite beverage of the Iliyats. Black cauldrons for boiling the milk, and leather bags suspended on long poles for churning butter in, obstructed the passage, and completed the picturesque disorder of the scene before us. In a word, the tent was as full and as dirty as possibly can be imagined; nor was it any the warmer for it.

The night was bleak, and the wind on this elevated spot blew mercilessly through the holes in the canvass, and especially from below. To place me as far as possible out of its reach, I was seated on a wool-sack, while the rest, less fortunate, remained on the ground-floor; and from the piercing cold to which they were exposed, looked very miserable. The fire, it is true, burnt on the hearth, but did not extend its influence in the same proportion as the dense smoke, which nearly smote our eyes

with blindness, and choked our respiration, before it found its way into the open air. There was not the remotest chance of comfort, and instead of throwing off my travelling apparel to ease the limbs, I was obliged to put on as many cloaks as I could muster, and thus equipped, I tried to console myself with the reflection that the miseries of life are only for a time.

Speaking of time, people often complain that it hangs heavily on their hands;—they know not what to do with it. Oh! had I been then within reach of such persons, how thankful I should have been to them for the loan of all their hours of *ennui*, which I should have known how to turn to account! For, in laying them out into days, I should have been enabled to visit the neighbouring Chá'b country; a trip which, but for want of time, I was forced to relinquish.

But what attraction, some may say, can a country have of which little or nothing is ever heard? As that would be casting a reflection

on the volumes before you, and as travellers are not less sensitive than other mortals, I hasten, in self-vindication, to observe, that the very circumstance of a country being little known is already a strong inducement to become better acquainted with it. But independently of this reason, which is founded on the innate inquisitiveness of man, there is another, in favour of the Chá'b Arabs, to which I shall presently allude.

After this prelude, I suppose I may introduce to you those wandering gentlemen of the desert without further ceremony.

The name of the Chá'b Arabs became, I believe, first known in this country about the latter part of the last century, in consequence of their piratical exploits on the Persian Gulf, and their having captured some English vessels sailing in those latitudes.* Their name, however, soon sunk again into oblivion, and would probably have remained so in Europe, had not

* See Dr. Vincent, on "The Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients," &c., vol. i., page 427, fourth edit. 1807.

attention been awakened by the late expedition of the Pasha of Bagdad against the Chá'b Arabs and the destruction of Muhammereh, the capital of their sheikh; an event which has given rise to the discussion between the Courts of Teherán and Constantinople, as to whether Muhammereh lies on the Persian or on the Turkish territory.

Without pretending to decide the question either way, I shall merely give a few detached remarks on the Chá'b Arabs, being the result of the information I obtained from various persons, apparently well-informed on the subject, and aided by what can be gleaned from history.

The country which the Chá'b Arabs now occupy, appears to extend, on the north, as far as the territories of Shúshter and Ram Hormúz; to the east it is limited by Behbehán; and, including Hindiyán in their possessions, the Chá'b Arabs spread on the south along the head of the Persian gulf; touching at their south-western extremity on the territory of

Basra. Their frontier, on the west, is very insufficiently defined, for they meet with other wandering Arab tribes, but I doubt their extending at present beyond Haviza, if, indeed, they reach so far.

This part of my information concerning their limits, is partly corroborated by what Niebuhr says, namely, that at the time he visited Arabia and the adjacent countries, the *Chá'b* or the *Kiab* Arabs extended on the north to Haviza, on the east to Hindiyán inclusively, while, in the opposite direction, they even penetrated far into Arabia.*

The greater portion of the country just described, watered by the *Táb* with its numerous tributaries from the east and north-east, and the Kúren on the west, was known to the Arab geographers by the name of Dáúrák.

At the commencement of the Sefevi reign, and before the Chá'b Arabs had begun their

* See Niebuhr's "Voyage en Arabie et en d'autres Pays de l'Orient," tom. ii. chap. v. page 160, Swiss edition, 1780, in 8vo.

encroachments on Dáúrák, they were known to encamp in the neighbourhood of Haviza, on the Kerkheh stream, south of Dizfúl. But during the unsettled state into which Persia was thrown after the death of Shah Tamasp I., son of Shah Ismail, the founder of the Sefevi dynasty, the Chá'b Arabs began to encroach on their neighbours the Afshárs, who were established to the east of Haviza, and succeeded in dislodging them and taking possession of their places of encampment. They did not, however, long remain peaceful occupiers of the land they had seized; for at the accession of Shah Abbas the Great to the throne of Persia, Imam Kúli-Khan, Governor of Fars, headed an expedition against the Chá'b Arabs, and forced them to return their former possessions to the Afshárs. compelling them, moreover, to pay a certain tribute to the Crown of Persia.

Persia was at that period at the zenith of its power; and among the numerous vassals who recognised its Shah as suzerain were four *Valis*, who, although exercising an independent sway in

their own states, still owed allegiance to the sovereigns of Persia. Hence the title of the latter of Shah in Shah, or king of kings.

One of these four great feudatory lords was the *Vali of Haviza* or *Arabistán*, who, with the other three, namely, the Valis of Gurgistán, or Georgia, of *Luristán*, and of Ardelán, or Eastern Kurdistán, had a right to a seat on state occasions in the presence of the Shah.

From that period until the invasion of Persia by the Affghans, the monarchs of Irán had always Arabian cavalry in their service.

The Vali of Arabistán performed even a conspicuous, although not a very honourable, part during the siege of Isfahán; for it was chiefly owing to his treacherous conduct that the city fell into the hands of the Afghans.*

Taking advantage of the disorders which attended that invasion of Persia, and profiting by the state of anarchy which succeeded the death of Nadir-Shah, the Chá'b Arabs

* Hanway, Otter, Picault, and several Catholic missionaries give detailed accounts of this affair.

repossessed themselves once more of the country of Dáúrák, forcing the Afshárs and other Turkish tribes, such as the *Bayat* and *Kakavend* to decamp. A part of the Afshárs retired to *Kengovar* and Assadábad, between Kermanshah and Hamadán; another portion settled at Urumia in Aderbeiján; a few established themselves in the neighbourhood of Shúshter and Dizfúl, where they still continue to live, and bear the name of Gúndúzlu.

Niebuhr, who visited Arabia and Persia in the latter part of the last century, speaks of the power which the Chá'b Arabs had attained under their enterprising chief, Sheikh Suleyman, and the wars in which they were incessantly engaged with the Persian and Turkish authorities.

About the same period Kerim Khan-Vakil, in acknowledgment for the signal services these Arabs had rendered to his troops during the siege of Basra, bestowed on them the town of *Hindiyán* with its dependencies, somewhat in the nature of a feudal tenure, on condition of their paying 1,000 tomans to the

Governor of Fars for the enjoyment of Hindiyán.

Whenever the Sovereigns of Persia felt themselves strong, and could enforce their authority, the Chá'b Arabs were regular in paying their tribute; but as soon as the latter thought they could withhold their allegiance, they never failed to do so.

At the commencement of Fet'h-Ali-Shah's reign, the Arabs of Chá'b kept aloof, but, towards the end, they are said to have paid tribute to the Fermán-Ferma of Fars, partly in cash, and partly in a stipulated number of their noble breed of horses, as a *peshkesh*, or present, which an inferior offers to a superior.

At the accession of the reigning Shah to the throne, and while the Governor of Fars, Manucher-Khan, was besieging the forts of Gúli-Gúláb, then in the hands of the Mamaseni tribes, the Sheikh Chá'b, whose possessions of *Hindiyán* happen to be in the vicinity, was summoned by the Governor of Fars to provide the troops of the Shah with provisions. The

sheikh gave answer, that as there existed no precedent of the Chá'b Arabs ever having procured *sursát*, or provisions for a Persian army, he could not comply with the demand; but after the fort had surrendered he changed his mind, and in addition to the required supplies, paid several thousand tomans to the Governor of Fars.

The expedition of the Pasha of Bagdad against the sheikh of Chá'b originated in consequence of the latter having declared his town of Muhammereh a free port, and thrown it open to all the vessels sailing in the Persian Gulf.

The advantageous position of Muhammereh, situated, as I was told, near the junction of the Jerahi (Tab) with the Kuren, affords the vessels sailing up the gulf the possibility of carrying their goods thither without going to Basra, which lies higher up the stream of the Shatt-el-'Arab.

The high duties which merchants had to pay before they could clear their goods at Basra, induced them to resort to Muhammereh. This caused a great diminution in the custom-

house revenues, not only of Basra, which were very considerable, but likewise of Bagdad; the income of the Pasha was affected by it, and it is but natural to suppose that Ali Riza Pasha could not remain long blind or indifferent to the increasing diminution in his receipts. Hence the expedition.

The calamity which befel Muhammereh might perhaps have been averted, had the Chá'b Sheikh been less actuated by a spirit of parsimony, or had evinced greater caution and foresight.

When the news spread that Ali Riza Pasha had left Bagdad, and his hostile intentions against Muhammereh became apparent, Muhammed Taghi-Khan Bakhtiyar was directed by the Moétemid, the then Chief of Kermanshah,* Luristán, and Arabistán, to offer the sheikh the assistance of his cavalry, 2,000 strong, provided the sheikh furnished the troops with

* And not of Fars, as mentioned in M. Fontanier's recent work, "Voyage dans l'Inde et le Golfe Persique," &c.

the necessary supplies on their march, and as long as he might require their aid.

The sheikh replied, that he had no apprehension that the expedition of the Pasha was directed against him, and, therefore, declined the offer.

The fact is, he had been lulled into this false security by a kinsman of his, whom the Pasha had gained by holding out the prospect of procuring for him the government of the Chá'b country in case of success.

This treacherous kinsman succeeded in persuading the sheikh that the military expedition of the Pasha of Bagdad was directed against Basra, and not against him. The consequence was, that the sheikh was taken so completely unawares, that he had only time to save his own life by escaping to *Felahi*, (the former capital of Chá'b after that of Dáúrák,) and from thence to Ram-Hormúz. The loss which the Persian merchants of Shúshter alone sustained at the destruction of Muhammereh is said to have exceeded 60,000 tomans, or about

30,000*l.* I have heard it affirmed by persons who have visited the place, that had the sheikh been apprized of the Pasha's hostile intentions, even a short time before the attack took place, he might have rendered the approaches to Muhammereh impassable to the enemy, by breaking down the dams and flooding the country around it.

This mode of defence reminds us of what the ancient writers mention concerning the numerous canals which spread like a network over the country, along the lower courses of the Tigris and Euphrates, and served the purpose of irrigating the fields, but were also used by the natives as means of defence for inundating the country at the approach of an enemy.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XX.

Page 106.—Pons quoque ibi invenitur inter mundi miracula relatus, qui a matre regis Ardeschiri pons *Harah-Zad* vocatur, et super fluvium siccum exstructus est. Huic enim fluvio aqua deist, nisi quando multa ceciderit pluvia, quo tempore maris instar fluctibus agitatur

et, qua per terræ superficiem patet, ultra mille cubitos, qua in profundum abit, centum et quinquaginta complectitur. Hunc vero pontem sic extruxit (Hazah-Zad), ut lapides plumbo ferroque inter se conjungantur, et intervallum inter locum unde humo exsurgit, alterumque, ubi iterum in terram descendit. Profunditas autem est ulnarum centum et quinquaginta. Quo altius adscendit substructio eo fit angustior. Spatium vero inter latus torrentis pontemque, in altum sergentem ad quadraginta circiter cubitos a terræ superficie, ferri scoriis fuso plumbo in massam compactis implevit, quibus, molibus pons innititur ita ut summus illius vertex supra terram suspendatur. Sic igitur omne intervallum inter duo latera torrentis, et pontis structuram plumbo, aeris (?) ramentis intermixto, oppletum est. Pons hic constat una arcu, est que mirabili structura firmeter que inter se compacta insignis. Eundem postea rupit Masmaeus (?) neminique per longum tempus integrum fuit, substructionem restituere. Quæ res haud parum molestiæ viatoribus creavit. Interim accolæ eo pergentes in plumbo, quod ad structuram sustinendam in fusum erat magna cum vi extrahendo omnem modum excesserunt; donec opus reparavit Abou-Abdallah Mohammed ibn Ahmed al Ammi (?) Vesirus Al Hasani ibn Bouyæ. Hic enim operas geometras que conduxit, omnesque nervos facultates que suas in illud negotium intendit, opifices que ex summo ponte canistres impositos ope trochlearum funiumque suspendit (?); nec tamen arcum nisi multis post amnis absolverunt. Jam vero præter mercedem operarum, quarum major pars ex ipsa ditione Idadji et Isfahane ad hod opus peregendum vi adacta fuit in illud erogata sunt trecenta et

quinquaginta millia aureorum. Structuræ ad nostrum usque tempus servatae contemplatio et inspectio considerantes in admirationem rapit. (See Uylenbroek's "Iracæ Persicæ Descriptio," &c., p. 31.)

Page 110.—La tribu Arabe de *Kiab*, ou suivant la prononciation des Persans *Tsiab*, habite l'extrémité des côtes du Golfe Persique. Elle était peu considérée avant le règne de son Scheick actuel *Soliman*, dont la renommé parvint jusqu' à l'Europe, à l'occasion de ses querrelles avec les Anglais, auxquels il prit quelques vaisseaux. Ce Scheick sut profiter des troubles de Perse, et des vices du Gouvernement de Basra. Il commença par soumettre ses petits voisins indépendans ; s'empara ensuite de plusieurs grands districts en Perse, et promit un tribu aux Khans, qui se disputaient le trône de ce malheureux royaume. Aucun ne l'exigea que Kérim, qui se contenta d'une petite somme. Soliman étendit alors ses conquêtes du côté de Basra. Il rechercha l'amitié des *Ajals* qui sont les chefs du peuple dans ces contrées, et comme les principaux ne perdaient pas avec lui, il parvint à se rendre maître de toutes les îles entre les embouchures de l'Euphrate, ou du pays appelé communément *Schat-el-Arab*. Ayant poussé ses conquêtes jusqu' aux fleuves navigables, il pensa former une marine. En 1758 il bâtit son premier vaisseau, et en 1765 il en avait déjà dix grands et soixante et dix plus petits.

Cette même année en 1765, Kerim-Khan envoya contre lui une si forte armée, qu'il ne put resister. Il transporta ses trésors et ses troupes d' île en île, jusqu'à l'ouert de Schat-el-Arab. Les Persans ne pouvant le poursuivre

faute de vaîsseaux, furent obligés de se retirer, alors le Pacha de Bagdad donna des ordres d'attaquer Soliman, qui évita les Turcs, en se sauvant par les îles comme il avait évité les Persans. Le territoire de la tríbu de *Kiab* s'étend depuis le désert de l'Arabie jusqu' au pays de Hindian, et vers le nord jusqu'à la principanté de *Havisa*. Il est arrosé de plusieurs petites et grandes rivières; il abonde en dattes, en ris, en graines et en paturages. Ses villes principales sont *Daurek*, située déjà en Perse; *Hafar*, et *Ghoban*, résidence du scheick, près d'une embouchure de l'Euphrate. (Niebuhr's " Voyage en Arabie et en d'Autres Pays de l'Orient," tom ii., chap. v., p. 160, edit. in 8vo., 1780, in Suisse.)

CHAPTER XXI.

Continue the journey over a hilly country.—Valley of Murde-fil inhabited by the Arab-Gomish tribe.—Sulphurous spring at the foot of the Asmari hills.—Ruins on the plain of Gulgir.—Disappointed in my antiquarian researches.—Our appearance frightens away some Iliyat women.—Leave the place to escape an attack.—Cultivation of the fields at Gulgir.—Arrive at the encampment of the Jáneki.—Khori Shútur-Zar.—Scenes of Iliyat life.—Comparison between the agriculturist and the shepherd.—Opinion of Lord Bacon on the subject.—An Iliyat woman enjoys more freedom and is more respected than the women who lead a sedentary life in Persia.—Anecdote of a Kurdish amazon.—Division of the Jáneki tribe.—Resume my journey.—Arrival at Beitavend.—Deserted village.—Contrast between the highways of Europe and those of Persia.—Description of Beitavend.—Give battle to an army of mice.—Repent of my victory. Proceed to Shúshter.

February 8.—Next morning we started at a quarter past six, a.m. The road led west over very steep hills, partly barren, partly covered with oaks and the kúh-nar. An hour brought

us to a precipitous descent into the valley of *Murde-fil* (the dead elephant), in which some patches of ground are cultivated by the *Janeki* of the *Arab-Gomish* tribe; the rest is all slaty rock, the country wild and mountainous. At nine we reached another valley, with some springs of fresh water, as also a mineral spring.

Several fragments of stone and mortar were scattered here and there, and some gravestones denoted that this place had once been inhabited. A few natural caverns were likewise pointed out to me in the rocks, at some elevation.

After partaking of a scanty breakfast, which consisted of cold eggs hard boiled, and some dry bread, we crossed the *Duruo* (likewise called Murde-fil,) several times. Its water is brackish, in consequence of its flowing through the limestone hills. Near at hand on the left were the lofty and precipitous heights of the Asmári hills, formed principally of black slate.

Two hours more brought us to the north-western extremity of this chain, at the foot of which is a sulphurous spring. Having no

thermometer with me, I could not ascertain its degree of heat; but I found the water pleasantly warm for bathing, and the immersion afforded great relief to my weary limbs.

The opposite, south-eastern, extremity of Kúhi-Asmari I had seen from Manjanik, so that the whole extent of it, from south-east to north-west, may be estimated at from five to six farsangs (twenty-two and a-half miles). It is distinguishable from the surrounding mountains by its height and black colour, being almost entirely of slate, while the other hills are calcareous. A plain, bounded at its northern extremity by a snowy range of mountains, lay on our right.

On turning the angle of Kúhi-Asmari, we entered on the plain of Gúgird (Gulgir in Major Rawlinson's notes), and, advancing in a south-west direction, soon arrived at some ruined buildings of freestone, with vaulted rooms, probably of the Sasanian era.

To the south of this spot, at the distance of a farsang, I descried another building in the

plain, and was told by my companions that I would find there the ruins of an ancient temple, with white marble columns, together with inscriptions and carvings on stone. With the cheering prospect of such a rich antiquarian harvest before me, I did not mind making a great detour, though my new acquaintances would not consent to accompany me. Only one of their party, on seeing me depart alone with my servant, joined us, in order to serve as ciceroni.

My illusory anticipations were soon dissipated on a nearer inspection. I found only a deserted Imam-Zádeh, some gravestones with Arabic inscriptions, and a considerable space of ground strewed over with stone and mortar; the relics of some small town or extensive village, which was now crumbling into the dust, to which its former inhabitants were already reduced.

Our approach frightened away some Iliyat women who had come with their jugs to draw water from a neighbouring spring. The encampment of their tribe was seen at some

distance at the foot of the Asmári hills; but no assurances on our part could induce them to slacken their pace as they fled in the direction of their tents. It is a melancholy spectacle in these barren wastes, and a sad thought to dwell upon, that the sight of a stranger always creates a feeling of mistrust, and the object a man dreads most to meet in the wilderness is the form of his own fellow-creature, as if the curse of Cain was still upon the land.

We, on our part, did not tarry long among the tombstones, on perceiving some bustle at the encampment, and the men saddling their horses, but went off at a quick trot, and, crossing the plain in a diagonal line, soon rejoined our party.

The soil of the plain of Gugird is clayey, and produces wheat, which is sown in December and reaped in March, before the vernal equinox. When the rains are abundant the harvest yields from ten to twelve grains for one.

The road leading from Tauleh joins that

along which we were travelling at the foot of some gypsum hills at the extremity of the plain, which is about two farsangs (seven miles) in breadth. These hills are not steep, and are the continuation of the Kúhi-Gech, which I had crossed before arriving at Manjanik. Their direction is from south-east to north-west, parallel to the Asmári ridge.

We cleared these hills in three-quarters of an hour, and forded a mountain stream full of reeds, and flowing from north to south. My travelling companions now looked about them for the tents of their families, which during their absence had been removed to another place of encampment.

The roving Iliyat, when absent from his family, has no fixed hearth to which his imagination may turn when thinking of "sweet home." His abode is the vast expanse of the desert plain, or some valley of the mountain, as he alternately folds or spreads his tent, now here now there, for the better accommodation of his flocks.

We soon found what we looked for; and I took up my quarters for the night at the hospitable tent of an old Janeki, who, with his tribe, was encamped in the plain of Khári-Shútur-Zár. He was one of the party in whose company I had travelled from Mál-Amír, and one whose silver beard and noble figure I had often admired, together with the beautiful chesnut Arab mare he rode.

The return of the Janeki created great glee and animation in the camp, and many were the endearing scenes I witnessed on the occasion. Mothers came out to greet their lords and masters, holding up their little offsprings in their arms to be caressed; the children, it is true, were dirty and half naked, but they were not the less hugged and kissed by their fond parents. The women and the boys took charge of the horses, while the travellers threw off their boots and war apparel and took their places on the threadbare carpets of their tents. But during the hurry and bustle of arrival, the kids and lambkins had found means to

upset their enclosures, and, in the joyful sensation of freedom, spread over the plain, skipping and prancing in wanton sport, while pursued by the younger branches of the community with the faithful shaggy guardians of the Iliyat camps.

All were curious to learn the news of the movements at Mál-Amír; and, when I alighted, I found my old Janeki host surrounded by his children and grandchildren, and seemingly very happy, whilst his own presence created gladness around him. What pure and blissful joys has the Almighty infused into the heart of man! and why should we seek abroad for comforts and delights when we can possess both in the bosom of our own families!

Although the agriculturist stands a step higher in the scale of civilization, I am inclined, from what has fallen under my notice in the East, to join in the opinion of Lord Bacon, that the state of the shepherd is, in some respects, preferable.*

* I shall take the liberty to quote the whole passage

Among the Iliyats I have found more simplicity and frankness than among the inha-

---

of the author in his own words, as there is in them much curious matter :—

" After the creation was finished," says Lord Francis Bacon, " it is set down unto us, that man was placed in the garden to work therein ; which work so appointed to him could be no other than work of contemplation ; that is, when the end of work is but for exercise and experiment, not for necessity, for there being then no reluctation of the creature, nor sweat of the brow, man's employment must of consequence have been matter of delight in the experiment, and not matter of labour for the use. Again, the first acts which man performed in Paradise consisted of the two summary parts of knowledge ; the view of creatures, and the imposition of names. As for the knowledge which induced the fall, it was (as was touched before) not the natural knowledge of good and evil, wherein the supposition was, that God's commandments or prohibitions were not the originals of good and evil, but that they had other beginnings, which man aspired to know, to the end to make a total defection from God, and to depend wholly upon himself. To pass on : in the first event or occurrence after the fall of man, we see (as the Scriptures have infinite mysteries, not violating at all the truths of the story or letter) an image of the two estates, the contemplative state and the active state, figured in the two persons of *Abel* and *Cain*, and in the two simplest and most primitive trades

bitants of villages. Being less bound to the soil than the tiller of the ground, the Iliyats, in their roving habits, are not so cramped in their movements, and evince a greater spirit of independence. But what establishes, more than anything else, their decided superiority over the settled inhabitants of villages, and even towns, is the degree of freedom their women enjoy when compared with those of the latter. They are not doomed to that seclusion which spreads such a gloom over Muhammedan society, but mingle freely in the company of the other sex. The confidence which is placed in the virtue of the Iliyat woman raises her in her own estimation, while her own dignity gains her the respect of those

---

of life; that of the shepherd (who, by reason of his leisure, rests in a place, and living in view of heaven, is a lively image of a contemplative life) and that of the husbandman, where we see again the favour and election of God went to the shepherd and not to the tiller of the ground." (See Lord Francis Bacon, "Of the Proficience and Advancement of Learning," pp. 63, 64.)

around her, and makes her a more fit companion for man. We must not expect, however, to find among them those gentle and refined qualities of the heart which so eminently characterize the true Christian woman. No; the female inmates of the tent are rude, ignorant, and often as wild as their lords; but still they are not deficient in self-abnegation and devotedness to their families. Inured to hardships from their infancy, and, moreover, bold riders, it is not seldom that they show great courage and martial spirit.

When I was once on a visit to Kermanshah I found a branch of the Kalhúr tribe, which, during the minority of their chief, was governed by his mother. I was told that this lady used to place herself at the head of the regiment which the clan was required to furnish for the state, and even offered to conduct the troops in person to the capital for the inspection of the Shah.

An anecdote was related to me about this Amazon, which, if it does not tally with our

notions of right and wrong, shews at least that she was a woman of no common spirit. When yet a spinster, she used to dress in mens' clothes, saddle her horse, and, armed with a lance, would sally forth into the desert, there to waylay travellers. An elderly Kurd, who was for some time my companion in that part of the country, related to me, that crossing one day an unfrequented tract, he was suddenly attacked with great impetuosity by an armed horseman, and it was not until he had inflicted some severe wounds on his assailant in self-defence, that he induced the robber to retreat. He had likewise been wounded, and towards the close of day sought refuge at an Iliyat encampment. The chief of the tribe, in whose tent he was lodged, washed and dressed the wounds for his guest, lamenting at the same time that he could not command the help of his daughter, who had been herself that morning roughly handled by a stranger Kurd. This intelligence awakened the curiosity of my narrator, and on inquiring into the nature of her wounds, he was strengthened

in his suspicion that the daughter of his host was the very person who had attacked him in the desert. In order, however, to ascertain more fully the fact, he expressed a wish next morning to see the invalid, to which the father made no objection. They met and recognised each other; but as both were wounded and had fought valiantly, they were quits and parted friends; nor did the old man evince any resentment against the Kurd; the latter having, moreover, acquired a claim to his protection, having tasted of his salt, and rested under the shadow of his tent.

As this anecdote was told me without any wish to produce an effect, but simply as an occurrence which had taken place, I have no hesitation in believing it to be genuine, the more so as it is in perfect keeping with the *couleur locale.*

I learned from my host that the Janeki are divided into the following tribes:—The Gugirdi, at Khári-Shútúr-Zar, and Gugird; the Makavendi, at Járú, near Tauleh; the Arab-Gomish,

between Mál-Amír and Gugird; the Mumbeni, near the snowy range to the north; and the Bulveis, near Kal'eh-Túl.

Tauleh lies six farsangs (twenty-two miles) south-east from Khári-Shútúr-Zár; and the river Kúren a day's journey to the north.

9th. We proceeded to Beitávend, seven farsangs (twenty-six miles), at first due west, and then north-west. An hour's journey brought us to the boundary of the Janeki country and Shúshter. To the right of the line of road was a chain of the Kúhi-Gech, and to the left Kúhi-Siyáh. Behind the latter range dwell the Arabs of the *Mesi-Beni*. The *Gúnduzlú*, an Afshár tribe, also cross to that side in winter, and approach the valley of the Kúren in summer. After three hours' march from Khári-Shútúr-Zár, we left on our right a road which leads also east across Kúhi-Gech to Gugird; and passing the cultivated ground of Sheker-áb (sugar-water), we forded the river Shúrish-áb several times. The country is undulating. We next went along an elevated ground, covered with

kúh-nár, and passed a tepeh or mound, surrounded with some old tombstones. This district, as well as Sheker-áb, belongs to the Gúndúzlú tribe.

At Beitávend, which we reached after a march of seven hours, we found the village deserted, the inhabitants had fled into the mountains, as soon as they learned that the Governor of Isfahán was to pass with his troops in that direction on his way to Shúshter and Dizfúl.

In like manner, and from similar motives, a great number of villages situated on the high-road between Teherán and Tabriz have been completely abandoned, and the peasantry have sought for more secluded places to settle in, whilst their former habitations fall to the ground. In civilized countries, wherever a thoroughfare exists, we usually meet with a greater mass of wealth and affluence, than in less frequented localities; it is not so in Persia. The richest villages are generally situated in some retired valley of the mountains, or far

from the high-roads;* hence the desolate appearance and absence of social life, with which a European is struck on travelling through the country along the caravan route, and hence likewise the incorrect notions some are apt to form of the country in general.

Beitávend is situated at the foot of gypsum hills, and surrounded by green fields and meadows, through which runs a rivulet coming from the mountains to the right, which I had crossed in approaching the place; the water is brackish. The village consists of about one hundred neat and clean houses, with an Imam-Zadeh on the top of a hillock. Thither I proceeded to admire the western sun, as it was lowering its course in the heavens, and at last sunk behind the distant plains of Arabistán.

* In the book of Judges, we read that a similar state of things prevailed in the East, in the old days before us. "In the days of Shamgar, the son of Anath, in the days of Jael, the highways were unoccupied, and the travellers walked through by-ways." (Judges v. 6.)

I learned from an old dervish that *Meschedi Solyman-Kulchuk*,* mentioned by Major Rawlinson, is four farsangs (fifteen miles) distant from Beitávend, on the right of the road leading to Shúshter, and that it has some white columns and slabs of stones; but I could not command sufficient time to verify the fact. Major Rawlinson is of opinion that it represents one of the ancient temples of Elymaïs.†

On returning from my evening walk, I found that although the village was deserted, my lodging was not void of inhabitants; for no sooner was my supper served for me on the ground, than a whole army of mice made

* The lesser mosque of Solomon.

† "The fire temple," says this author, "dedicated to *Anahéd*, which was supposed by Strabo (p. 744) and Diodorus (Diod. Sic., Fragm. 34, book xxvi.) to be sacred to Jupiter, and which, in the Maccabees (2 Mac. i. 13—16), is named, more properly, the temple of *Nanae*, may be represented by the ruin in the plain of Beitávend: it was here that Antiochus the Great lost his life." (See "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," part i., vol. 9, p. 85.)

their appearance—famished "*comme des rats d'Eglise.*" It was hunger which made them forget fear, and lose all sense of decorum; for without any invitation on my part they made free with several dainty bits from off the board; while others from behind jumped over my shoulders into the dishes, as I lay reclining on my elbow on the couch, in the old Roman fashion at meals. Their freaks amused me at first, but afterwards they took too many liberties, and so at length my choler rose, and in my impatience I threw boots, slippers, books, and other missiles, at them. Some retreated limping, others remained on the spot to rise no more, and I was relieved from further annoyance. But now my conscience smote me; I was sorry for what I had done, and felt ashamed at my victory. Poor little things! they were starving, and came to implore for a few crumbs to keep body and soul together, and I had not only grudged them that trifle, but had deprived them of life which, in their simplicity, they

thought I came to restore. I felt my conduct had been cruel, unmanly, and unchristian! I almost wished they would return, but how could I expect it? I had forfeited their confidence, and a little dumb animal, guided only by its instinct and warned by experience, preferred to die of hunger in its little hole, rather than trust itself again in the dangerous presence of man—that sullen, imperious lord of the creation! And we boast of humanity!

February 10.—From Baitávend to Shúshter is called a distance of four farsangs (fifteen miles). We started at half-past four, a.m. For the first hour we travelled south-west by west, through cultivated fields. After crossing the river Shúrish-áb, we turned, at half-past five, a.m., to the west, and went over broken hills of sandstone.

At half-past six, a.m., the bearing of the road was W.N.W., it retained that direction, with trifling variations, till we reached Shúshter. We passed on the way many ruined villages and old *bends*, or dykes, which formerly had

served to form reservoirs, as fresh water is scarce here. The country, as we approached Shúshter, becomes more level and better cultivated. We are now in the district of Pirchistán, or *Pishistán*.

At half-past eight, a.m., the plain of Arabistán opened to our view, and the river Kúren was seen issuing from the hills to the right and taking a S.S.W. course towards Shúshter. The river Shúrish, flowing in a N.N.W. direction, joins it at the village of *Akili*, near the mountains.

On approaching the town, the road passed close to the ruined mosque of Piri-Shemsu-d-din, perched on the summit of a steep hill, from the top of which I obtained a commanding view over the whole country, which to the south and south-west is a flat plain, with the exception of a few undulations. From this elevated spot I attempted likewise to take a bird's-eye sketch of the town of Shúshter, which appears to become more ruinous the further it extends into the plain to the south.

On nearing the Imam-Zadeh Sáhib-Zemán, a very pretty place, we were greeted by an old *Kaliyanchi*, who, in his guttural Arab dialect, offered us a kaliyan to smoke, and some ice-cold water to slake our thirst.

At length we entered Shúshter at eleven, a.m., from the east, over a low stone bridge, which serves as a *bend* to distribute the waters that flow from the Kúren in this direction, into various channels for the use of water-mills. The water which escapes falls down in beautiful cascades into the artificial channel of the Kúren.

CHAPTER XXII.

Reach Shúshter.—Entertained by Mirza Sultan 'Ali Khan.—Syrup of dates and syrup of grapes.—Arrival of an Arab Sheikh.—Remove to the citadel.—Dyke of Shúshter constructed by Shapúr Dhulektaf.—Description of the town.—Artificial irrigation of the Meand'ab.—Taxation.—Productions.—Water communication with the Persian Gulf.—Former sugar plantations at Ahváz.—Alleged reasons for their destruction.—Ophthalmic complaints.—Quickness of the Shúshteri.—Improvisatori.—A Shúshteri blind diviner.—Loose morals of the inhabitants.

I WAS at first brought to the house of Mirza Sultan 'Ali-Khan, the head of one of the principal native families of Shúshter, and a descendant of one of the holy Muhammedan Imams.

Although he had not received any intimation of my coming, and was a perfect stranger to me, still he received me with great cordiality. Large trays were soon brought in with various sorts of fruits, fresh cakes of wheat flour,

honey, an omelet, and some bunches of fresh aromatic herbs, such as mint, astragon, and many others, for which I am at a loss to find an equivalent name in English; although that does not prevent the Persians from relishing them.

Among other dainties, I must not omit to mention a bowl with a thick syrup of dates. It is prepared from the juice of the ripe fruit, pressed out, and is excellent, resembling in taste the juice of the unripe grape, after it is boiled to syrup, and is formed into a solid mass like congealed honey out of the comb. *

While I was busily employed in emptying the dishes and listening to my host, the arrival of an Arab sheikh was announced, and we soon saw him enter the yard with his followers, mounted on small Arab mares. They were presently

* To the honey of raisins the Persians give the name of *shiré;* and it was known to the ancients, as we learn from the following passage of Ezekiel xxvii. 17 :—

" Judah, and the land of Israel, traded with thee (Tyre); corn of Minnith, *honey of raisins,* (in some editions *honey* alone,) oil, and balm gave they to thee for thy wares."

ushered into the apartment where we sat, and took their respective places. The Arab sheikh was an elderly man, dressed in an abbah, a white flowing cloak, with broad black stripes, flung carelessly over his shoulders, and a black shawl twisted gracefully round his head, with the extremities hanging down in fringes.

After a few words exchanged with my host in Arabic, of the most guttural intonation, the sheikh rested his arms on the hilt of his hanjar stuck in his belt, and preserved a dignified silence until I took my leave, although he appeared to have come on business to Mirza Sultan 'Ali-Khan, who exercises a great influence over the wandering Arab tribes of the plain. He is not Chief, however, of Shúshter, the civil administration of which town, with the adjacent country, is intrusted to Aga Muhammed Ali Bashi, the deputy of Zorab-Khan, who himself resides at Dizfúl.

Intelligence was sent to the former of my arrival, and a lodging immediately prepared for me at his house, or, I should rather

say, at the mansion-house of Shúshter, in which Aga Muhammed Ali Bashi resides. This fine building, which is a strong fort surrounded by massive walls, stands on an eminence overlooking the broad and rapid Kúren.

We soon found that we were old acquaintances, having met three years previously and spent a few days in the black tents of the Kermanshah Iliyats, visiting together the holy shrines of the Ali-Illahi sectarians. My new host took me to see the great dyke called the *Bendi-Kaïser*, at the eastern arm of the Kúren. It is above 600 paces from bank to bank, and is formed of large granite stones, joined by iron clamps. The general breadth of the dyke is fourteen paces, but it is not everywhere the same. The depth of the river, close to this dyke, is said to be from twenty-five to thirty Persian *zár* (a zar being equivalent to three and a-half feet). Narrow openings are left in the bend to allow a free passage for a part of the water, which at the

time I visited Shúshter, was nearly level with the dyke itself; at the season of the swelling of the river, the water covers the dyke completely.*

Shúshter was formerly a very populous city, but the plague and the cholera morbus of the years 1831 and 1832 made great ravages among its inhabitants, the number of which is said not to exceed at present 4,000 or 5,000 souls. A considerable number of families have removed likewise to the town of Dizfúl, since it has become the chief place of the province, instead of Shúshter, which was the former capital of Khúzistán. In consequence of these various causes, many houses, still in tolerably good condition, stand empty without owners.

The aspect of the town is original. The dwellings are generally two stories high, with spacious terraces surrounded by parapets. In the interior of the courts, lofty covered passages run along the walls of the buildings. The vaulted cells of the houses are deep and capa-

* For further details, see note at the end of the chapter.

cious; thither, in summer, the inhabitants retire during the heat of the day, resorting to their high terraces at the approach of night.

The *ark*, or fortress, stands apart on a rising ground facing the Kúren, which, lower down, passes under a stone bridge of forty-four arches, built by the Sasanian monarch, Shapúr D'hu Laktáf, which serves likewise the purpose of a dyke. In modern times this bridge has been repaired by the late Muhammed Ali Mirza, son of Fet'h-Ali-Shah, and, still more recently, by Manúcher-Khan, the present Governor-General of the province.

The right bank of the Kúren, opposite the castle, is covered with brushwood, which, when compared with the surrounding barren plains and mountains, looks very picturesque.

In order to procure water for the irrigation of the fields to the south of the town, a tunnel has been carried from the Kúren, somewhat above the stone bridge, over the main branch of the river and below the Bendi-Kaïser, on the east side of the town.

This subterranean canal passes under the fortress, and reappears near the gate leading to Dizfúl. The water procured by this means serves to irrigate a spacious tract of land of nine farsangs, called the *Miand 'ab* (Mesopotamia), namely the space comprised between the two branches of the Kúren, and which, had it not been for this artificial means, would have remained a barren waste, as the two arms of the river which embrace it are very deeply imbedded in their banks.

Shúshter, with its several districts, is taxed by Government to the amount of 20,000 tomans, or about 10,000*l.*, which is distributed in the following manner:—

	Tomans.
The farming of the waters of the Miand 'ab produce	3,530
Fourteen villages belonging to Mirza Sultan 'Ali Khan, and that of *Ahili* .	3,250
The Gúndúzlú-Afshárs . . .	1,500
The village of Jalakún	250
The village of Gutvénd	750

	Tomans.
The village of Deimché . . .	250
The village of Kávnek . . .	400
	9,930
Or, in round numbers . .	10,000
The town taxes amount to . .	10,000
Total	20,000

We may here add that—

The land tax on winter corn, which the Persians call *shatvi*, consisting of barley and wheat, amounts to . .	3,350
The tax on the summer products, or *seifi*, under which head cotton, sesam, rice, &c., are comprised, amounts to .	6,550
	9,900
Or, in round numbers . .	10,000

The Indian products which find a market at Shúshter, are sugar, spices, and cotton. They are brought by sea to Muhammereh, a

free port on the Kúren, near its confluence with the Shat-al-Arab and the Kurdistán river, and in the possession of the sheikh of Chá'b. From thence they are carried up the Kúren in small Arab craft to within two farsangs of the town of Ahváz, at which latter place they are taken out and transported by land carriage, on account of some ledges of rock which traverse the bed of the river. Further on, the goods are again replaced in boats, and approach within three farsangs of Shúshter: here they are once more laden on mules and thus brought to the city.

Shúshter had in former years large cotton plantations, and furnished the raw materials for its own looms; but since the introduction of foreign cotton stuffs, this branch of rural industry has been nearly suspended, and the cotton looms are at a stand-still.

Formerly the sugar-cane likewise flourished here, and more especially at *Ahváz*,* but the culture of it is now completely abandoned. On inquiring

* See Yakuti, in Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi, tom. ii., p. 425.

into the reason of it, I was told that many years back an *Inglis* (an Englishman), settling for a time at *Ahváz*, had bought up at a very high price all the sugar-cane that could be collected, root and all, which he gathered into a large storehouse. When he had entirely drained the country of this article, he set fire to the magazine, and the whole stock of the sugar-cane was thus consumed. Since that period the inhabitants of Ahváz have never resumed their sugar plantations.

I cannot at present recall to memory the name of an old European traveller in the East, who mentions this circumstance, but attributes the act to the Dutch.

The lovers of the marvellous give another version of this tale. It appears, according to their statement, that Imam-Riza, one of the twelve holy successors of Muhammed, and whose shrine is visited by the devotee Mussulmans at Meshhed in Khorassan, had a sweet tooth; for while residing at the town of *Tús*, in the neighbourhood of Meshhed, he conceived a great longing for some of the Ahváz sugar;

but the parsimonious inhabitants of that city thought fit to reject his request; upon which, faithful to the Mussulman creed of retaliation, the holy man breathed a prayer that the sugar-cane should no more grow at Ahváz. His prayer was granted; and in order that his vengeance might appear the more striking and appalling, all the sugar-canes were turned into scorpions. The best possible evidence that this story is true is, that Ahváz is said to abound in scorpions.

The inhabitants of Shúster complain greatly of the heat during the summer months; and this reminds us of what Strabo mentions on the faith of Aristobulus about Susa, where the heat was so great in summer, that lizards and serpents could not crawl across the streets at mid-day without being burnt.*

As the Persians during the summer months usually have their suppers served on the flat roofs of their houses, the town becomes illuminated. Candles are placed on high candela-

* Strabo, lib. xv., c. iii.

bras, and covered either with glass caps open at the top, or sheltered by wooden frames, the sides of which are of fine muslin. Servants are then seen moving about with immense lanterns, and casting their black shadows before them. These lanterns are made to spread and fold, and consist of white starched linen; the lid as well as the bottom being made up of white copper. They are often from two and a-half to three feet in diameter, and from three to four feet when spread out.

The present inhabitants seek shelter in the daytime, as already mentioned, in the deep vaulted cells of their dwellings, which become suffocating towards evening; and in order to catch a breath of air, the whole population rush to the terraced roofs of their houses, where they spend the night.

Although ophthalmic complaints are prevalent all over Persia, still nowhere have I met with more numerous cases of persons suffering from sore eyes than at Shúshter and Dizfúl. Many lose their eye-sight completely; others

have only the use of one eye. This peculiarity I have likewise repeatedly observed in persons coming from the borders of the Persian Gulf, and especially from Mascat, on the Arabian coast. The natives think this proceeds from the fact that when occupied they are in the habit of straining one eye more than the other, in consequence of which, it becomes weaker and more exposed to inflammation, which is usually brought on during the heats by the perspiration running down the forehead, and entering into the eyes. I do not know how far this interpretation may satisfy the exigences of medical science, but the frequent loss of eye-sight is thus accounted for by the sufferers.

The inhabitants of Shúshter have the reputation in Persia of being very quick and witty in their repartees, and resemble in this respect the Isfahâni. I was witness one day at Kermanshah of a contest between a Lúti (buffoon) of that city, and a lad not more than fourteen years old from Shúshter, which of them could

best advocate the cause of his native town, and depreciate that of his rival. The contest, which lasted a considerable time, was carried on with great spirit, each attacking and parrying in swift succession. The victory was unanimously awarded to the Shúshteri boy, although the other was no mean performer.

As the inhabitants are of a gay, lively character, the town abounds in buffoons, dancers, musicians, and jugglers of all descriptions. Among the latter, I met with an old blind conjurer in the Shah's camp at Hamadan in 1840, who certainly acquitted himself with great ingenuity, and succeeded in imposing on many credulous persons.

But if the Shúshteri are remarkable for their wit, they are no less so for their profligacy, and although the Persians in general cannot boast of paying great attention to strict morality, the inhabitants of Shúshter are reckoned to be more than the rest deficient in that respect.

NOTE TO CHAPTER XXII.

Page 149.—On the dyke at Shúshter, by Major Rawlinson:—"It would appear that Ardashir-Babéyan, or his son, Shápúr, after having founded Shúhster, upon the left bank of the Kuran, in a bend of the river, excavated a deep and wide canal to the east of the city, and thus divided the waters of the river. The artificial stream was derived from the Kuran, immediately above the town; and defending it upon the eastern face, as the original bed did upon the western, it rendered the position one of extreme strength; but the city, situated on a rising ground, between the two arms, could have been but indifferently supplied with water, and a further undertaking, therefore, was necessary to remedy the defect. A massive band, or dyke, accordingly was thrown across the original bed of the river, at the distance of about half a mile from the mouth of the canal, narrow outlets, or sluices, being left for the passage of a certain portion of the water. The consequence of this was, that the great body of the river was forced back into the artificial derivation. Another band was then thrown across the mouth of the canal, forming, as it were, a continuation of the line of the original bank, and raised precisely to the same height as the lower dyke. Here, too, the passage of the water was regulated by sluices; and the entire bed of the stream being now formed, as it were, into a vast reservoir, the mouth of a tunnel was opened into it, which had been excavated directly through the hill of sand-rock forming the left bank of the river between the two bands,

and below the level of the water thus artificially elevated; a copious stream, of course, immediately flowed into the tunnel, and sufficient water was thus obtained for the supply of the town, and the cultivation of a vast tract of country extending to the south of it. Before either of the bands, however, were undertaken, and when the whole body of the river must have flowed in the artificial canal, the mouth of which had probably been deepened for the purpose, that part of the original bed between the two dykes, which was intended to form the great reservoir, was paved throughout with massive hewn stones, fastened with metal clamps, to prevent the further deepening of the river, and to give additional strength and security to the whole work. Such, as far as I can gather from Oriental authors, and a minute personal examination, has been the general design of the stupendous hydraulic works of Shuster. The course of the river has constantly changed, as either of the dykes has given way and yielded a free passage to the waters, and in that case, the level of the water in the great reservoir having fallen below the orifice of the tunnel, it has become, of course, altogether useless. When I was at Shuster a part of the lower band had given way with the breaking of the bridge above it; and the level of the river having thus sunk several feet, the supply of water in the tunnel became reduced proportionably, and the lands south of Shúster were thrown entirely out of cultivation. The band, however, has been since repaired; and I now understand that the tunnel or Nahri-Dáriyán, as it is properly called, is quite full."

When the author visited Shúster he found both the bands

in perfect repair, and the tunnel of Nahri-Dáriyán filled with water, which could be seen through the aperture of a deep well sunk into it, in one of the courts of the fortress. On leaving the tunnel the water flowed through the town, and from thence into the country, for the irrigation of the fields to the south of it called the Miandab.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Departure from Shúshter to Dizfúl.—My young Persian fellow-traveller.—Some account of the bridge of Dizfúl.—Aspect of the road.—Seized by a fit of drowsiness.—Village of Kúhnek.—Ruins of Shahabád supposed to be Jondi-Shapúr.—Inconveniences of Eastern travelling.—Reception by Zohrab-Khan, Chief of Dizfúl.—My host Mustafa Kuli-Khan.—Suspicions attached to him.—Information concerning the sect of the Sabeans, generally known by the name of the Christians of St. John.—Their aversion to blue colour mentioned in Tavernier.—Similar antipathy observed among the Yezidi sect, who worship the devil.—Ceremony of the fowl among the Sabeans, Jews, and the Ali-Iláhi Gurani of Kermanshah.

I LEFT Shúshter at midnight in company with a very intelligent young Persian nobleman, who tried to keep me awake by his vivacity, his jokes, and the ready wit of his lively repartees. I am sorry that his name has escaped my memory, especially as he seemed anxious that I should commit it to paper, as soon as he learned that I kept a journal. He

was in the Shah's military service, had been an *élève* of Colonel Stoddart, and had come the whole way from Teherán to receive his pay in *barats*, a species of Exchequer-bills, which the Government draw on the Chiefs of provinces, which these, however, do not always honour, or, at least, drag on the bearers of them for months and years before they pay them.

On leaving the town we crossed the bridge of Dizfúl, which spans the river Kúren, and consists of forty-four arches. The construction of it is attributed to Shapúr Dhúlactaf; but in the lapse of time, some arches having given way, the passage over the bridge became impracticable, till the late Muhammed Ali-Mirza, son of Fet'h-Ali-Shah, and Governor of Kermanshah, Luristán, and Arabistán, had repaired it, together with the other bend or dyke, which had likewise yielded to the impetuosity of the current. It was ten years before the Prince could accomplish this difficult and expensive undertaking, which cost 120,000

tomans (about 60,000*l.*), exclusive of the day labourers' work employed in the construction of it. The success of the enterprise is entirely owing to the persevering character of that Prince, for the old King had more than once declared it an useless and extravagant enterprise, and had often refused to grant further supplies for the work to be carried on.

But as nothing human is lasting, a few years ago (in the spring of 1832) the bridge of Dizfúl again gave way to the impetuous rush of the waters of the Kúren. The present Governor, Manucher-Khan, has had it repaired.

The distance from Shúshter to Dizfúl is reckoned between nine and ten farsangs. The road took us over a plain in a direction due west. Sandy hillocks were visible to the right, and behind them the elevated plain of *Serdasht*, with the high mountains in the distant horizon. To the left extends a level and barren plain; at least so it appeared to me, as I strained my eyes to pierce through the uncertain twilight.

I have generally found, when obliged to travel through the night, that one feels the greatest inclination to sleep a short time before the first dawn of morning. As I had been the whole of the previous day either on horseback, or moving about Shúshter, I was so completely knocked up, and to such a degree drowsy, that for a wink of sleep I would willingly have given up my birthright, as Esau of old had sold his for a mess of pottage. My young companion perceiving that his jokes had lost their effect on me, proposed that we should stop in the midst of the road and rest awhile, which we accordingly did. A little carpet was spread on the ground, and, stretching myself on it, I was soon wrapped in profound sleep.

When I awoke, the three bright stars which usually appear in the east before the approach of morning, were already losing their effulgency at the appearance of dawn, and soon melted in the skies as the sun rose majestically above the horizon.

On arriving at the village of *Kúhnek*, five

farsangs from Shúshter, we stopped to ungird our horses, and as the place has some patches of cultivated ground, with a stream of water, we found grass for them, whilst the villagers supplied our party with sheep's milk.

On resuming our march, the road branched to north-west, and N.N.W. in the direction of the Keilun mountains, which lie beyond Dizfúl.

Two farsangs further brought us to the ruins of *Shah-abád*, with the Imam-Zadeh Abdul-Kazim. The Persians attribute the erection of this city to a certain King, whom they name Dakianus,* and attribute to him the

* I have never been able to ascertain whom the Persians mean by Dakianus, but his name seems always to be connected with very remote antiquity. I recollect some Kurds mentioning to me, at the time of my trip into their country, that the lake of Zeri-bar, between Sullymanieh and Sennenduj (Senneh), occupies the site of the ancient capital of Dakianus, who, as a punishment for his wickedness, was swallowed up with his city by an earthquake; and that in very calm weather, the remains of the latter are still discernible at the bottom of the lake. Mr. Rich gives a somewhat similar account of this lake. (See "Narrative of a Residence in Kurdistan," &c., chap. vii., p. 186.) The

legend of the seven sleepers, which seems to be spread all over the East.

According to more credible authorities, Shahabád is supposed to represent *Jondi-Shapúr*, built by Shapúr, son of Ardashir Babegan, and enlarged by Shapúr Dhu-l-Aktaf.

But however interesting the spot may be for archæological researches, I found that I could not make my jaded horse sensible that we were moving over such classic ground, as the poor animal had already walked eight farsangs, and was obliged to carry me two farsangs further before it could rest for the day. Such are the inconveniences a traveller frequently meets with in the East, without having

---

word *Zeri-bar*, reminds us of what the learned Burnouf observes concerning the lake *Zéreh*, in Seistan, into which the Helmund flows. "Zarayo," says he, "signifies a lake in the ancient Zend language; and Zaré is its equivalent in the Pehlevi dialect." (See note Q, p. 97, to his Commentaire sur le Yaçna.) May not the Russian word *ozero* (озеро), meaning lake, be of Zend origin, so many other words of the same language being thence derived.

the means in his power of applying a remedy, and he may, therefore, claim some indulgence from the inquisitive reader, when his researches remain incomplete.

However, a short ride over some part of the ground to the left of the road, and a cursory view of the plain, convinced me that the town must have been extensive; broken walls in masonry scattered here and there, red bricks and tiles strewed about the fields; a line of mounds, and traces of aqueducts, with others still extant, is all that meets the eye at Jondi-Shapúr, together with the Imam-Zadeh Abdul-Kazim, just mentioned.

I also strained, to no purpose, my eyes and my imagination, to find out traces of the gate on which the skin of the impostor Mani, the propagator of the Manichean sect, is said to have been hung for an example and a lesson to all who saw it.*

Like the ruins of Rhey, close to Teheran,

* See Mirkhond's "History of the Sasanian Kings," translated by the Baron S. de Sacy, p. 296.

Jondi-Shapúr lies among ploughed fields, belonging to the village of Siyah-Mansúr, as if the tiller of the ground passed his plough in derision over the spot where a city once reared her proud head, in retaliation for all the haughtiness with which her citizens were wont to look down on his more simple, and humbler walks of life.

The road leading to Dizfúl passes through a plain strewed with stones and pebbles.

The Chief of the town, acting under the command of the Governor-General of all these provinces, is Zohrab-Khan, of Georgian extraction. As he was an old acquaintance of mine, I was received in a very friendly manner by him. After spending a few hours together, and imparting such news as most interested each of us, I was shown to my lodging, a house of very spacious dimensions, and built in the same style as the dwellings at Shúshter; the peculiarity of which consists in the lofty apartments under-ground, and the broad terraces in the upper stories.

This house had belonged to one of the hereditary Chiefs at the head of the Arab nobles of Dizfúl, whose life had been lately secretly made away with, while the poor man was in his bath. Neither the reasons for this murder, nor the perpetrators of the act, had been discovered, although suspicion fell on a near kinsman of the deceased,—Mustáfa Kúli-Khan, who had never lived on friendly terms with him, and who had now stepped into the possession of his landed property, which was very considerable, and become master of the house in which I was quartered. As I had become his guest, Mustáfa Kúli-Khan soon made his appearance, with the usual complimentary phrases, that the house was mine (*Khaneh male shuma'st*), and that my place had been empty (*joï shuma hali bud*), &c.

But before his arrival, the carpets of the rooms were covered with large trays, on which were placed pyramids of various sorts of fruits, heaps of sweetmeats, and dishes with preserves; all sent from Zohrab-Khan and my new

host. There were oranges of the sweet and sour kind (*naringhi* and *narinj*), citrons and sweet lemons (*limú tursh* and *limú shirin*), pomegranates, and fresh dates in profusion. I found my host a very agreeable and well-informed man; and I hope that the suspicions which rest on him are unfounded. He proffered the services of his younger brother to accompany me the next day to the ruins of Shúsh, and promised, in the meanwhile, to apprize the Sabeans of Dizfúl that I wished to see them.

I may here give the information I gathered at Shúshter and at this place, concerning this sect, who go by the name of the Christians of St. John, or by that of the *Mendaï Yaghia*. The Persians call them *Sabi*.*

* It is generally supposed (although I know not why) that the present *Sabeans*, or *Christians* of St. John, ought not to be confounded with the ancient *Sabeans* who worshipped the host of heaven in the times of Abraham, and to whom, among other passages in Scripture, that of the Prophet Joel probably refers:—"And I will sell your sons and your daughters into the hands of the children of Judah, and they shall sell them to the *Sabeans*, to a people far off, for the Lord hath spoken it."—Joel iii. 8.

On my arrival at Shúshter I had made inquiries concerning the Sabeans, and in the evening, while sitting with the Governor of the town, some individuals of this sect were introduced. Mullah-Hater, who appeared better informed than the rest, volunteered to satisfy my curiosity concerning the doctrines of their faith. I learned from him that the Sabeans recognise the divinity of our Saviour, and believe in the Holy Trinity. According to their creed, God, whom they call Kheï-reb, or the Great God, although one in his essence, is formed of three persons, *Khei-reb Kadmoï*, or High and Almighty God; *Khei-tenioni*, (which Mullah Hatir translated by the word *Naïb*, or Acting-Assistant), and *Khei-Telithoi*, God the Creator. The last bears sometimes the name of *Khivel-Zivòs*. The learned Mullah then went on to relate the history of the first man and the first woman, Adam and Hevve, likewise of their son *Shithel* (Seth), who appears to be the most conspicuous person in their book on the creation.

The Sabeans make, likewise, the sign of the

cross, beginning from the right to the left shoulder, then touching the forehead, and lastly, the pit of the stomach. I repeat only what I heard from Mullah-Hatir, without vouching for the truth of his statements, as I am aware they do not coincide with the opinion which the late Baron Silvestre de Sacy entertained of the religious tenets of this sect, founded on their sacred books. Among the number of the highly instructive and interesting articles inserted by this learned and much lamented Orientalist in the *Journal des Savans*, we find some curious researches relating to the Sabeans, in which the author expresses himself in the following manner:—

"The name of Christians of St. John is quite as little founded in reason, since their doctrine (that of the Sabeans) has nothing in common with Christianity, to which they are greatly averse. This name has been bestowed on them erroneously by certain missionaries and travellers, who fancied they had discovered, in certain of their religious ceremonies, resem-

blances with some of the rites of the Christian religion." *

The Sabeans recognise St. John the Baptist as their greatest prophet, whom they call *Peiyhamber Yaghia*, and hence their name of the followers of St. John.

As the Mussulmans believe in the existence of *Mehdi*, the twelfth Imam, so the Sabeans are of opinion that St. John (Yaghai) is still alive, although invisible, and that he inhabits Syria (Shám). He is expected to return among them with *Shethel* (Seth, son of Adam), who, for his virtues, is supposed to have been taken up to heaven, and at their appearance the reign of the Sabeans is to commence.

They offer as a reason for the profound

* Le nom de Chrétiens de St. Jean est tout aussi peu fondé en raison, puisque leur doctrine (des Sabéens) n'a rien de commun avec le Christianisme qu'ils ont en horreur ; il ne leur a été donné que par la méprise des missionnaires et des voyageurs qui ont cru voir dans certaines pratiques de leur culte, des rapports avec quelques rites de la religion Chrétienne. (See Journal des Savans, 1819, second article, page 646.)

veneration they bear him, that not only the Virgin Mary paid her devotion to her cousin Elizabeth, on account of her being at the time with child of Yaghia, but that even Christ in later years was baptized by St. John in the waters of Jordan.

They usually perform their prayers at the water side; and if I rightly recollect, this custom prevails in commemoration of the circumstance, that St. John baptized with the waters of the river Jordan. For this reason they prefer having their habitations along the banks of some river. The chief places where the Sabeans are to be found at present are at Basra, on the Shat-el-Arab; at Sukuchuk, near Basra; at Shúshter and Ahváz, on the Kúren; at Dizfúl, on the river Diz; and at Havízeh, on the Kerkheh stream.

Although the Sabeans of Shúshter and Dizfúl have their own priests, they are still obliged to go to Havizeh whenever a young couple is to be married, as it is only their

chief priest or sheikh, residing in that town, who can perform that ceremony.*

Independently of their book of Adam, the Sabeans have two other works: the one contains the life of Yaghia, and the other is their ritual. The first, which they call the Sidra, is said to contain twelve thousand questions, with appropriate answers, on all abstract matters, and more especially on the study of the heavens. This fact may lead us to suppose that there exists some connexion between the disciples of St. John and the ancient Sabeans, who worshipped the host of heaven, and are reckoned among the oldest nations of the world.

I was fortunate enough to procure from the Sabeans of Dizfúl a copy of the *Tarikhi-Yaghia*, or History of St. John, written in their own language; the characters of which

* See M. Raymond's letter to M. de Sacy, wherein he mentions that there are some sheikhs who can only perform the marriage service on virgins, others on widows. ("Journal des Savans," 1819, page 351, first article.)

resemble the Syriac or Chaldean. I thought the work was complete, but have learned from my friend M. Eugène Boré, to whom I offered this manuscript, that the Sabeans had only furnished me with a fragment.

We find a curious passage in Tavernier concerning the aversion of the Sabeans to blue; and as there exists a similar antipathy among the Kurdish sect of the Yezidi (who appear to have been once Christians) for that colour, grounded on a different, although not less absurd reason, it will not be found, perhaps, uninteresting if I here mention the circumstances. The French traveller says:—*

* " Avant que de finir le discours de la religion de ces Chrétiéns de St. Jean, il faut remarquer encore la grande aversion qu'ils ont pour la couleur *bleue* appellée *indigo* puisqu'ils ne la veulent pas même toucher. La raison qu'ils en donnent est que certains Juifs eurent en dormant une vision, qui leur fit entendre que leur loi devait être abolie par le baptême de St. Jean. Ce que les autres Juifs ayant appris, et voyant que St. Jean se préparait à baptiser Jésus Christ, poussés de rage ils apportèrent quantitée d'indigo qu'ils appellent *nil* en langue du pays, et qu'ils jettèrent dans les eaux du Jourdain. Ils ajoutent que ces eaux

"Before concluding the account of the religion of these Christians of St. John, I must point out the great aversion they entertain for the blue colour called indigo, which they will not even touch. The reason they adduce is, that certain Jews whilst asleep saw a vision, in which they were informed that their law would be abolished by the baptism of St. John. The other Jews having learned this, and seeing that St. John was about to baptize Jesus Christ, were filled with rage, and gathering together a quantity of indigo, which they call *nil* in the language of their country, threw it into the waters of Jordan. They add that the water remained impure for some time, and that the baptism

---

restèrent immondes pour quelque temps, et qu'elles eussent empêché le baptême de Jésus Christ, n'eut été que Dieu miraculeusement fit apporter par les anges un grand vase qu'il fit remplir des eaux prises du Jourdain avant que les Juifs y eussent jetté cet indigo, et qu'ils enlevèrent le vase au ciel et que lorsque St. Jean baptisa Jesus Christ les mêmes anges apportérent le vase où était l'eau de laquelle St. Jean se servit pour le baptême ; en suite de quoi Dieu donna sa malédiction à cette couleur.

of Jesus Christ would have been prevented, had not God miraculously caused the angels to go with a large vessel, and fill it with water taken from the Jordan, before the Jews threw the indigo therein, which they took up to heaven, and that when St. John baptized Jesus Christ, the same angels brought the vase in which was the water which St. John used in this baptism; after which God cursed that colour."

The Yezidi, who worship the Devil (Sheitan), have so great a respect for him that they dare not, under the penalty of death, pronounce his name. In the same manner they avoid the use of all such words as by their sound bear any allusion to the name of Sheitan; and as the blue colour in their dialect is Shin, they not only never pronounce it, but carefully abstain from wearing any apparel dyed blue. Satan with them goes by the name of Melik *Taús*, the *peacock angel*, or the *proud angel*.

I learned these particulars during my ex-

cursion into Kurdistan in 1837, from a young Kurdish Chief, who had lived some time among the Yezidi.

Tavernier makes mention of another peculiarity of the Sabeans, and calls it the *Ceremony of the fowl*, which their priests alone have the right to kill;* but it is to be regretted that he does not explain in what this ceremony consists, in order that one might judge whether it has any connexion with a custom prevalent among the *Gúrani* tribe which I met with in the Zagros chain, between Kermanshah and Zoháb. The Gúrani, who are all Ali-Iláhi,† or believers in the divinity of Ali (the cousin and son-in-law of Muhammed), have a yearly festival, which they call the *Feast of the Fowl*. It consists in the following:—In every village,

* See "Voyages de Tavernier en Perse," page 299, l. ii.

† Mr. Rich is, I believe, mistaken when he classes the Ali-Ullahees (I'lahi) among the abominable sect of the *Cheraghi*-Sonderans (extinguishers of the light). See "Narrative of a Residence in Kurdistan," &c., p. 46.

each head of a family brings a fowl to their *sheikh* or priest. When the contribution is thus collected, and the fowls killed and cleaned, they are thrown into a large kettle and boiled. As soon as they are ready, the people assemble; a cloth is thrown over the kettle, which is placed before the priest, who dips his hand into it, and taking it out piecemeal, presents a morsel to each person present in rotation. The individuals to whose share falls the head of the fowl, is supposed to be more favoured than the rest by Ali, during the course of the year.

As it is supposed, and perhaps with some foundation, that the Ali-Iláhi are of Jewish extraction,* this ceremony of the fowl may proceed from the Rabbinical custom of sacrificing a cock once a-year on the eve of the Day of Atonement, although nowhere counte-

* See "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London," vol. ix., p. 36. And Benjamin of Tudela's "Itinerary," by A. Asher, vol. i., p. 121; and vol. ii., p. 158.

nanced by the law of Moses. The following is the account of this custom:—

"*Order of the Atonement.*

"On the eve of the Day of Atonement the custom is to make atonements. A cock is taken for a man, and a hen for a woman; and for a pregnant woman a hen and also a cock, on account of the child. The father of the family makes the atonement for himself; for the high priest first atoned for himself, then for his family, and afterwards for all Israel."

The order is as follows:—

"He takes the cock in his hand, and says these verses: 'The children of men that sit in darkness and the shadow of death, being bound in affliction and iron, he brought them out of darkness and the shadow of death, and broke their bonds in sunder. Fools, because of their transgression and because of their iniquities, are afflicted. Their soul abhorreth all manner of meat; and they draw near unto the gates of death. Then they cry unto the

Lord in their trouble, and he saveth them out of their distresses. He sendeth his word, and healeth them, and delivereth them from their destruction. Oh, that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men.' (Psalm cvii.)

"'If there be for him an angel, an intercessor, one among a thousand, to show unto man his uprightness; then he is gracious unto him, and saith, Deliver him from going down to the pit; I have found a ransom.' (Job xxxii. 23.)

"Whilst moving the atonement round his head, he says, 'This is my substitute, this is my commutation, this is my atonement. This cock goeth to death; but may I be gathered and enter into a long and happy life, and into peace.'"

He then begins again at the words, "The children of men," and so he does three times. Then follow the various alterations that are to be made when the atonement is

for a woman, or another person, &c. Then is added—

"As soon as one has performed the Order of the Atonement he should lay his hands on it, as the hands used to be laid on the sacrifices, and immediately after gives it to be slaughtered."*

This similarity of custom between the Jews and the Ali-Iláhi explains why the latter offer the figure of a cock on the shrine of their holy men.

I found several of these cocks, some carved in wood, others made of porcelain, placed on the top of the tombs of their Piri in the mountainous districts of Holivan and Zohab, among the Gurani tribes, and have even brought away from thence a curious specimen of one of the cocks in porcelain, which a young Ali-Iláhi (it appears *un esprit fort* among them)

* See the "Old Paths; or, a Comparison of the Principles and Doctrines of modern Judaism with the Religion of Moses and the Prophets," by the Rev. A. M'Caul, No. 36, p. 143.

made me a present of from the shrine of Baba-Yadgar; but I perceived that he got chided for it afterwards by the more bigoted part of the sect.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Visit to the ruins of Shush, or Shus (ancient Susa).—Account of the Arab Iliyats.—The tomb of the Prophet Daniel.—Wonderful property attributed to a black stone in the interior of the chapel.—The den of lions.—Jealousy of the Arabs of strangers touching any of the marble fragments at Shush.—Rivers Shaver, Dizfúl, and Kerkheh.—The great mound.—The ruins of Ivani, Kherkh, and Shapúr.—Anecdote of an Arab boy meeting two lions.—The Beni-Lam, Mutefij, Alakesir, and Ala-Chetir Arabs.—Indigo of Dizfúl.

I ROSE early the next morning, feeling great impatience to visit the site of ancient Susa. Zohrab-Khan kindly supplied me with his own horse, and I set off on this expedition with a few attendants, and the promised guide, the brother of my host, who, although only with one eye, proved a capital ciceroni.

The ruins of *Shush* lie four hours' hard riding from Dizfúl, in a direction S.S.W., on the right bank of the river Dizfúl, which

we crossed by a bridge on leaving the town. The most conspicuous object is a lofty mound, which is discernible at a great distance before we arrive at the spot where the ruins commence.

About a farsang from the town we passed the village of *Shabán*, and a farsang more brought us to the *Balárúd* stream, which we forded not far from the spot where it discharges itself into the Dizfúl river. The left banks of the latter are under extensive fruit gardens.

Although we went at a pretty brisk trot, we were still outstripped by a turbaned old Arab, riding on a donkey at a swift amble, with a thick iron nail in his hand, with which he urged the animal onward by pricking it under the mane. He greeted our party in a very friendly manner as he passed on, and I learned that it was the Mutaveli, or guardian of the tomb of the Prophet Daniel, anxiously hurrying on before us to do the honours of the place, and reap the benefit.

dark blue, however, predominating. The broad trousers of the more opulent were invariably of the latter dye, with *passe-poils* below of another colour. The children ran about in red shifts, without any other apparel. These Arabs appeared to be more opulent, or at least more attentive to their dress, than the generality of the Iliyat tribes of Persia.

My appearance excited some curiosity among them; and as they stopped to gaze on the strange Frengi, and even flocked around to have a nearer sight, I had an opportunity of examining them with greater attention. I found them a very fine set of people. The countenances of the men bespoke a spirit of independence perfectly in harmony with the political state of their tribes, whose submission to the authorities of Dizfúl rests on a very slender tenure. Some of their women, especially the youthful portions, notwithstanding their dark-brown complexions, might be reckoned very beautiful, on account of their regular and delicate features, and the superior lustre of

their sparkling black eyes, which far surpass those of the gazelle, to which the Eastern poets are wont to compare them. Their features as they grow older become more marked and pointed; and as nature is fond of contrasts, it is among these Iliyats that we meet with the most hideous-looking old women.

The Arabs made no opposition to my entering the chapel in which the coffin of Daniel is said to be deposited, on learning that Christians, as well as themselves, who are Mussulmans, acknowledge him to have been a prophet.

The building is of modern architecture, and has nothing to carry us back to remote ages, except some fragments of marble pillars, with the leaves of the lotus carved on them, probably of the Susian date. In the interior of a four-cornered cell stands the coffin; a high box of a dark sort of wood, surrounded by a railing somewhat similar to the tombs of Esther and Mardochi, I had seen at Hamadan. Hanging up against the grating are several boards with Arabic quotations from the Koran, which the

devout Mussulmans press to their lips as they pass round the coffin.

The guardian of the temple showed me a flat black stone in the recess of the window, which appeared to be an aerolite, weighing several pounds, and let me into the secret of its wonderful properties, namely, that of being propitious to mothers who wish to be blessed with a numerous family, and who, on pressing it to the heart, must recite some prayers.

This peculiarity bears some resemblance to what is told of the temple of *Halgah-Baal*, at Emessa, on the Orontes, in Phœnicia.*

The aerolites have in general played a conspicuous part in the early religions of the Semetic nations.

Under a broad vaulted portico near the entry of the tomb, I took my luncheon with my Dizfúl ciceroni, while the guardian of the temple—the same who had been racing with

* Gibbon's "History of the Decline of the Roman Empire," vol. i., c. vi., p. 148; and I believe in Dr. Russel's work on the "Connexion of Sacred and Profane History."

us that morning—was descanting on the wonders and the sanctity of the place, as well for my information as for the edification of the multitude who had assembled around us.

Concerning the black stone bearing inscriptions, I heard the same story of which Major Rawlinson makes mention, namely, that it was blown up with gunpowder by a certain Frengi, who could not contrive to take it away in any other manner, and that, in consequence of this event, the country was visited with the plague. I have found, however, this belief prevalent, not only here, but in many other localities, where remains of antiquity are to be found.

It would appear that the natives, although themselves ignorant of, and otherwise indifferent to, the ancient monuments of their country, still hold it as sacrilegious that strangers should come and deprive them of the only memorials left them of the pristine glory of their father-land; and a Lord Elgin would not have had the same chance of

carrying off the marble fragments of Susa, as he had of bringing away those of Greece.

Since this event, the Arabs of Shús, it is said, have become very suspicious towards strangers, and I certainly did observe that they narrowly watched my movements whenever I approached or touched any of the marble fragments which lay about on the ground.

Beneath the apartment which contains the tomb of the Prophet is another vault, the entrance into which is from the outside of the court, and is said to represent the den of lions into which Daniel was cast by the order of Darius, King of the Medes and Persians.*

The western wall of the edifice is close to the left shore of the *Shapúr*, or *Shúver* river, probably the *Eulæus* of the profane writers, and the *Ulai* of Scripture.† It is not a broad,

* "Then the king commanded, and they brought Daniel, and cast *him* into the den of lions. Now the king spake, and said unto Daniel, Thy God, whom thou servest continually, he will deliver thee," &c. (Dan. vi. 16.)

† "And I saw in a vision; (and it came to pass, when

but a deep stream, with high banks, and is navigable to its junction with the Kúren river, near the town of Ahváz. Close to the water's edge are three white marble fragments; the one is the capital of a column, with chiselled ornaments, in the form of the lotus leaf. The other is a slate, with arrow-headed inscriptions; and the bas-reliefs of the third consist of a human figure, together with two lions, very roughly sculptured, and evidently intended to commemorate, at some subsequent period, the events mentioned in the book of the Prophet.

The ground about Shúsh is very uneven, and numerous mounds, or *tepehs*, are scattered in different directions to a considerable distance; some of them being partly covered with brushwood.*

The highest tepeh among them, of which

I saw, that I was at Shushan in the palace, which is in the province of *Elam*;) and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river of *Ulai*," &c. (Dan. viii. 2.)

* See "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," for 1839, vol. ix., part i., p. 68.

Major Rawlinson gives rough measurements, in his notes on Khúzistán, lies to the east of the *Shúver* stream, but very near it, and to the west of the river Dizfúl, which is discernible at some distance, plying its course to the south-east. This mound, which may be the palace where the Prophet Daniel had his vision, (for I see no objection to the contrary, although much has been written to that effect,) commands the whole country. From the top of it are seen the ruins of *Ivani-Kherk*, beyond the river of Kherkheh, about a farsang and a-half (perhaps less) to the west. A minar, or column, with the ruins of *Shapúr*, are likewise discernible, in a north-westerly direction, on the right side of the above-named river.

An oblong white slab, with inscriptions in arrow-headed characters of thirty-three lines stamped on it, lies on the slope of the great mound, and a few more marble fragments are found at the foot of it, nearly covered with grass.

I learned from the Arabs who accompanied me, that old coins, tombs, and blocks of marble, are often found in the adjacent country; but they could give me no particulars concerning them. Lions are likewise said to frequent the thickets and the high reeds which grow along the banks of the Shover, the Kherkheh, and the Dizfúl rivers.

An old man of our party recounted to us in glowing terms, how he once fell into company with several lions in the very neighbourhood of Shush. It would be difficult to give an idea of the vehemence of gesture and expression which accompanied his narrative, but the story ran thus:—

"When a mere lad, of eight or nine years old, I was sent," he said, "one day by my parents to scare birds from a plantation belonging to us, which lay close to the river. As I was sitting in a frail hut of rushes, I suddenly espied a lioness making her way towards my place of concealment. My liver melted into water at the sight (jighe áb shúd), and I became like one

transfixed. The animal stopped short, then couched, and rolling on the sand appeared quite unconscious of the presence of an intruder. Although I trembled like a leaf, this afforded me some respite; but presently I became aware of the approach of another lion through the rushes, by the tremendous roaring which preceded him. They met, and apparently on very friendly terms, and for some time they gambolled like dogs together. But I felt my situation was not the better for it, as their stay might be prolonged. I was more dead than alive, expecting at every instant that they would discover me in my hiding-place, and one stroke of the paw was more than sufficient to bring down the hut. I was afraid to breathe, lest the sound should reach their ears, yet I could not prevent my teeth from chattering quite audibly. But whether it was that they were too much occupied with their own concerns, or that they are deficient in scent, I do not know; suffice it to say, that after a short time, which to me appeared an age, they separated, each taking a

different direction, and were soon lost in the high grass.

"It is many years since that event took place," added the old man in conclusion, "and still I never can think of it without a shudder." And if I understood him right, the mental anxiety he underwent at the time, had the effect of changing the colour of his hair into grey ever since. To me this narrative had a peculiar interest, as I was standing on the very spot which the traditions of the East point out as the scene where, twenty-five centuries ago, Daniel had his miraculous escape, and could not but contrast the calm confidence of the Prophet, with the agitated state of the Arab youth, who had not yet learned to place complete and implicit reliance on his Heavenly Father.

The Arabs of the *Beni-Lam*,* and the *Muntefij*, or *Muntefik* tribes, live beyond the Kherkheh, and are said to be under the Turkish sway, although it is very doubtful whether

* The *Beni-Lam* are subdivided into *Namék* and *Maskúr*.

they recognise the authority of the Sultan. These tribes are numerous and strong; they might prove very troublesome neighbours to the inhabitants of Dizfúl, were they not constantly embroiled in bloody feuds amongst themselves. The Arabs, on the left side of the Kherkheh, who nominally recognise the Persian authorities of Dizfúl, are the *Alá-Késir* and *Alá-Chétir.*

The days being short, I could delay no longer to examine the remnants of this once celebrated capital of the Babylonian, Median, and Persian monarchs.

On our return to Dizfúl we passed by several villages and well-cultivated fields, with channels for irrigation. My guide took me over a considerable indigo plantation, and a manufactory for preparing this drug, which has only of late years been established by the Moétemid.

I learned that this plant has from time immemorial been cultivated in Khuzistán, especially in the neighbourhood of Shúshter,

and that the indigo of this town is well known in commerce. It is, or at least has been of late years, inferior in quality to the indigo of the province of Kerman; whilst the same drug imported from India has always been, and is still preferred to any produced in Persia. However, since a new mode has been introduced in the preparation of it by an Armenian, now engaged in the service of the Moétemid, the price of the Dizfúl indigo has risen considerably in the market, and it is expected by those embarked in the trade, that it will soon compete with that brought over from India. As the *nil-rengh*, the name given to this dye by the Persians, is in such general requisition all over the country, this new establishment at Dizfúl will be of considerable importance to Persia. Of the native establishments of indigo at Dizfúl, there are seventy in number, but the dye is of a very inferior quality.

CHAPTER XXV.

Departure from Dizfúl.—Aspect of the town.—River and bridge of Dizfúl.—Deserted palace of Muhammed Ali-Mirza.—Encampment of the Segvend Iliyats.—Night passed in their tents.—Arrival at Kilab.—Scene with Mirza Riza Nuri.—Anecdote of Safar Ali-Khan Jelilevend.—Various roads to Khorremabád.—A hint to travellers in the East.

On the 13th of February, before quitting my hospitable host, Zohráb-Khan, I repaired once more to his balcony, which commands an extensive and most beautiful view of the town, the river, and the adjacent country in the direction of the ruins of Susa, the high mound of which is discernible through a telescope.

Dizfúl is situated on the left bank of the river. A few straggling houses only are seen on the opposite shore. The style of the buildings is similar to those of Shúshter, the houses generally being very lofty and spacious. The river, which runs close under

the Governor's palace, is not so broad nor so deep as the Kúren at Shúshter, but is no less rapid. A number of water-mills project far into the stream, and are built on rocks which run across the river and produce rapids. These little islets are united by narrow bridges, and at the approach of night, when the millers trim their lamps, there is a perfect illumination on the river.

The bridge I traversed on leaving Dizfúl, at eleven, a.m., consists of twenty-two arches; the Persians attribute the construction of it to *Husheng*, one of the ancient kings of the Pish-Dadian race, and their first legislator before Zoroastér; but Major Rawlinson is, I believe, nearer the mark in supposing that it was built at the time when Shúshter and Jondi-Shapúr rose into note during the Sasanian period.* At a short distance from it stands

* See "Notes on a March from Zoháb to Khúzistán," by Major Rawlinson, in the ninth volume of the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London," for 1839, p. 73.

the isolated palace of the late Muhammed Ali Mirza of Kermanshah. This edifice is one of modern architecture, consisting of two stories, with a belvidere and terraces, from which the town is seen to great advantage on the opposite shore with the high Imam-Zadeh of Shah-Rúben, on the northern extremity of Dizfúl.

The direction of the road was to N.N.W., with the mountains of *Dumbenon* before us, bearing somewhat to the right. At half-past twelve we passed *Kal'eh-Muhammed Saleh-Khan*, surrounded by a high wall and ditches. At half-past three we crossed the river *Balarúd*, which is a confluent of the Dizfúl river, and the same we had forded lower down the preceding day on our way to the ruins of Shúsh. Our course then turned to N.W. by N.N.W., until we arrived at the encampment of the *Segvends* of the *Bajelan* tribe. The Chief, Muhammed Husein-Khan, (who has the not very creditable reputation, even among these mountain clans, all more or less that way inclined, of being a great robber,) came out

to meet me. He was at this time courting the favour of Zohráb-Khan, and, having probably learned that I had been well received by the Chief (in fact, Zohráb-Khan had apprized him of my coming the day before), he was very assiduous in paying me all possible attentions in the Iliyat style.

It appears that his tribe had committed some depredations in Lúri-Kúchúk; and in order to escape pursuit, had taken refuge on the Dizfúl territory, and sought the protection of Zohráb-Khan.

The day had been rainy and raw, and I was glad to find a blazing fire in the middle of the black tent into which I was ushered on my arrival at the encampment. Fresh fagots of wet wood were heaped on the hearth; but, unluckily, the top of the tent could not be uncovered on account of the rain, and the smoke nearly suffocated us before it could find its way out through the narrow aperture intended for a doorway. It poured during the whole night, and I learned to my cost that

the black goat-hair tents of the Iliyats do not preserve their inmates from the inclemency of the weather, as is generally supposed; for I had continually to shift quarters in order to avoid the rain dripping down on my couch from the roof of the tent.

February 14. — Notwithstanding that the heavy rain still continued, I was obliged to proceed on my journey. My host accompanied me part of the road, which took us first to the north-west, to a place called *Dashti-Lúr*, then turned into the plain of Husein, to the north-east. Having descended into the valley of *Balarúd*, formed by the river which bears that name, and which we shortly afterwards crossed, proceeding in a northern direction, we soon reached the high road, from which we had deviated the preceding day, in order to visit the camp of the Segvend Chief. After descending towards some black tents of the same tribe, we came to a cultivated plain, from which we soon gradually ascended a long ridge of gypsum hills, extending from north-west to

south-east, the usual bearing of the secondary range, which runs parallel to the great chain of the Zagros mountains. We next descended into the plain of *Kiláb*, watered by a rivulet of the same name, which joins the *Balarúd* lower down, at the foot of Mount Dumb-kúh (tail, spur, or extreme point of a mountain), on the left bank of the Balarúd.

For fixing the distances with greater accuracy, I shall note down that I left my night's halting-place at nine in the morning, forded the Balarúd at eleven, crossed the *Kúh-i-Gech* or lime-hills at one, and reached *Kiláb* at half-past two; in all five and a-half hours' march.

Kiláb has some stone ruins near the river side, and two burying-grounds; Major Rawlinson places here the colony of the Greek Erethryans of Ardericca.

Here are also some wells of *bitume malt*, and the climate is reckoned very unwholesome in summer. *Kiláb*, otherwise called *Balak-Geriveh*, is the place of encampment of the

Diri-kavend tribe. At the time of my visiting the spot, it was occupied by the tents of *Mirza-Riza-Núri*, the Naib, or deputy, of *Hajji Múllah Ahmed*, who, in his turn, rules over Lúri-Kúchúk as delegate of Manucher-Khan, the Governor-in-Chief of Isfahán, Arabistán, and Luristán.

Notwithstanding my *balapush*, or great coat, and the *bashlik*, or head covering, which serves likewise to preserve the shoulders, the rain had penetrated, and I entered the tent of the Mirza with my clothes wet through. This ought to have awakened in him the feeling of hospitality (a feature so universal amongst the Nomads), but on the Mirza it seemed to produce a contrary effect. I knew that Mussulmans reckon Christians doubly unclean when they have wet clothes on, but on the present occasion I refused to attend to this absurd prejudice; so that when I heard my host giving directions to the servants in the Lurish dialect to shew me and my party the way to the tents of the Iliyats,

some distance off, I stopped him short, by announcing that he appeared rather uncivil, and that I should therefore waive all ceremony, adding, in plain language, that as it was raining, and I was wet and fatigued, I preferred remaining his guest for the night, and expected that he would have some tents arranged for myself and party. I was induced to treat this man rather cavalierly from the very outset, knowing that he had the reputation of being very rough and imperious in his manner. I have invariably found among Persians of his stamp, that the more condescension we show to them, the more we expose ourselves to their impertinence, whilst, if we assume a firm and imposing demeanour, we very soon bring them to their right senses.

Mirza-Riza looked rather astonished, but when he saw that I was determined to remain, he gave way, and a small tent was fitted up for me, into which I retired.

My host having probably learned in the meanwhile, from my guides of Dizfúl and my

Persian servant, that I was on friendly terms with the Moétemid (who is more feared and respected in these parts than the Shah himself), became very anxious to pay me a visit and make amends for his past conduct. Having, therefore, waited my pleasure, he came to me accompanied by a Persian Khan, with whose brother, Safar-Ali-Khan (a Chief of one of the Cazvin tribes, the *Jelilevend*), I was well acquainted.

I cannot refrain from giving here an anecdote of the latter, which may serve to throw some light on the true character of the Persians, and show how deeply rooted the spirit of revenge is in the breasts of these Iliyat tribes, who are still lamentably ignorant of the sublime precept of the Gospel—to forgive and to forget.

At the time Persia was in a state of ferment after the death of the late Fet'h-Ali-Shah, and whilst the throne was disputed by his son Zeli-Sultan and Muhammed-Shah, the now reigning

sovereign; Imam-Verdi-Mirza,* a half-brother of Zeli-Sultan, espoused the cause of the former, and having marched against Muhammed-Shah, his troops committed great ravages in the neighbourhood of Cazvin. Safár-Ali-Khan Jelilevend was among those who had suffered with their families and kinsmen, from the lawless acts of Imam-Verdi-Mirza, because of their fidelity to the young Shah. When the star of Zeli-Sultan grew dim, and Imam-Verdi-Mirza could no longer hold the field, at the approach of Muhammed-Shah towards Teherán, the Persian capital, he felt anxious to make it up with his nephew, and requested the Ministers of Russia and England, who accompanied the young King from Tabriz, to be the mediators of their reconciliation. The meeting between the Prince and the representatives of the two European Courts, took

* The same who afterwards fled to Constantinople with Zeli-Sultan and Ali-Nagi-Mirza, and from thence went to Mecca, and lastly to Bagdad.

place in an open field, and it was agreed that Imam-Verdi-Mirza should await the Shah at the station where his Majesty was to encamp for the night.

In the meanwhile, Safár-Ali-Khan, who had already come over to the Shah with his Iliyat cavalry, insinuated, and perhaps with truth, that it was pride alone which made Imam-Verdi-Mirza loth to acknowledge his allegiance to the King in public, and extorted from the Shah an order for the Prince to appear before him on the high road. He begged as a favour to be intrusted with this order, and enjoyed the mortification it gave to the Shah-Zadeh when he delivered to him the King's message. When the interview took place he could not hide his exultation on seeing Imam-Verdi-Mirza get off his horse, and make a low and prolonged bow at the approach of the Shah, accompanied by his numerous retinue. The vindictive heart of Safár-Ali-Khan felt satisfied at this public humiliation of his foe.

I had reason to be satisfied that matters had

turned out so favourably, for I had to consult with Mirza-Riza as to my further progress, and to learn something about the state of the wild country in which I then was; because it would have been rash in me to venture onward before I had acquired a better insight into the different tribes through whose territories I was going to pass. I have experienced more than once, in the course of my rambles among the Nomad tribes, that I owed a kind reception at their hands to my knowledge (although very scanty) of the different clans with whom they were in peace or had feuds, of the various divisions and subdivisions of the tribes, their *kishlaks* and *yelaks*,* &c. Their vanity (the great lever of the human heart) was flattered at the idea they acquired of their importance, since even the *Frengi* (Europeans) had heard of them. By appearing to take interest in their concerns, (which, in respect to myself, I did in reality,) an European traveller gains much

* A Turkish expression for winter and summer encampments; the same as *serhád* and *germesir*, in Persian.

more information, and, what is of greater importance at the time, better accommodation from these rude children of nature, than if he were to bewilder them with an account of our wonderful inventions, or descant on the superiority of European civilization.

Two roads lead from *Kil-ob* to *Khorremabad*, the chief place of Lúri-Kúchúk; the first, or *Ráhi-Anarú*, the shortest of the two over the mountains in a northern direction, is the same which Major Rawlinson followed on his return from Dizfúl to Kermanshah.

The second, or *Rahi Chúeshkin*, the more circuitous route, passes by *Joïder* to the north-west, where Hajji Mullah-Ahmed, the Chief of Luristán, was supposed to be then encamped. As my time was precious, I was inclined to take the former, but Mirza-Riza strongly dissuaded me from it; as well on account of the steep and difficult mountain passes, especially at that advanced season of the year when they are all covered with snow, as of the turbulent spirit and predatory habits of the wandering tribes

who occupy the valleys, and can with difficulty be brought to any sense of subordination. Such being the case, prudence suggested to adopt the more practicable and safe course; and I consoled myself with the prospect that I should have, at least, to pass over some ground unexplored by European travellers, as the tract of country between Joïder and Khorremabad is still, I believe, a terra incognita to geographers.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Quit Kîl-ob.—Ruined fort of Kal'eh-Riza.—Graves of Dirikavend robbers.—Affecting custom among the Lur women.—Arrival at the encampment of the Boërekevend tribe.—Use of the ob-i-dûgh.—Inside of an Iliyat tent during a wet night.—Difference between travelling in the East and in the West.—Leave the encampment.—Cross the Ob-i-Zâl.—Pass the night at Ob-i-Gherm.—Family scene.—Resume my journey.—Bid adieu to the Kerkhéh river and to the mountain of Kabír-kûh.—Beautiful sight of the mountainous region beyond Joïder.—Passage over the Kashgán river.—Scruples of my guide on the occasion.—Iliyat naïveté.—Remains of Pul-i Kuréh-Dokhter, or Shapûr-bridge.—Expostulation with my host, a Yussufvend Iliyat.—The two English travellers, Captains Grant and Fotheringham, murdered in Luristán.—Carpet-weaving.—Resume the journey, and arrive at the encampment of Hajji-Mullah Ahmed, Governor of Luristán.

THE next day, the 15th of February, the weather clearing up, I resumed my journey. My Dizfûl guides, who were Gulams of Zohrab-Khan, took leave of me to return to their

master, and I was given in charge to another *Gulam*, a messenger, who was on his way back to Hajji-Mullah Ahmed at Madian-rú.

Leaving my tent at half-past ten, a.m., I proceeded in a W.N.W. direction, having the chain of *Chenaré* to the right, and the Gypsum hills to the left, beyond the river Kíl-ob, which is soon lost sight of, pursuing its course through them towards the *Balarúd* stream. We passed by several encampments of the Dirikavend tribe. At half-past twelve the road inclined to the north-west, leaving the mountains of *Tengovún* to the south-east, and we saw before us to the left, the Kabír-kúh (or great mountain) at a considerable distance. The ground was strewed with stones and flint.

At three-quarters past one we came to a copious spring of water, and, close to it the ruined fort of *Kal'eh Riza*, erected by Husein-Khan, a predecessor of Hassan-Khan, the late Feili Chief of Púsht-Kúh.

This Husein-Khan was the first *Vali* of Luristán in the reign of Shah Abbas, as the

former Chiefs of Lúri-Kúchúk bore the title of *Atabeg*, in like manner as the Atabeks of Luri-Buzúrg, in the Bakhtiyar country, the Atabegs of Fars, of Aderbeiján, &c., during the Seljuk sway.

Not far from the fort I went to examine the tombs of eleven Dirikavend robbers, who had been executed the preceding year by order of the former Governor of the province, Mirza Buzúrg, for having been guilty of plunder, and were buried near the high road to serve as a warning to their own and other wandering tribes who frequent these parts. But although the punishment may have been merited, still the sight of these sad memorials of humanity was not the less affecting.

Whitewashed grave-stones were laid horizontally over some raised earth which covered their remains, and at the head of each grave another flat stone was placed in a vertical position, from which hung down tresses of women's hair. On inquiry I learned that it was a custom among the Lur mothers, wives, sisters,

daughters, and other near female relatives, to part with their locks of hair, and hang them round the tombs of their deceased male relations, as a token of their grief.

By the colour of the hair, I thought I could judge of the age, and almost of the degree of parentage, of those who were thus bereft of a friend. The desert breeze had entwined the silver locks of age with the jet black tresses of the girl or the matron, and the auburn ringlets of the orphan child, in the same manner as grief was probably mingling at that time, in some secluded nook of the hills, the tears of the forlorn and disconsolate survivors. I do not remember ever to have read any epitaphs half so eloquent as this simple expression of genuine feeling, which the devoted affection of woman could alone have devised.

A somewhat similar practice prevailed on the Island of Delos, as we read in Herodotus, that "In honour of the virgins from the Hyperboreans, who died at Delos, both the

young women and men of the island cut their hair; the former, previously to their marriage, cut off a ringlet, which they twist around a distaff, and place on their tomb (for the tomb is within Diana's precinct, on the right as you enter, on it an olive-tree has sprung forth); the young men among the Delians, on the other hand, twist a lock of their hair round some herb, and likewise place it on the tomb." *

At half-past two I arrived at the encampment or *Kúren*, as it is called here, of the *Boërekevend* tribe, situated in a narrow valley, between high mountains. I was received very hospitably, at which I was not astonished, as I had been previously apprized that the Lur Iliyats on this part of the road, are a more hearty people than their neighbours who inhabit the valleys between Kíl-ob and Khorremabad.

The women immediately set about cooking

* See Herodotus, translated by Laurent, volume i., p. 284.

some rice-pillau, while the master of the tent killed a lambkin and dressed it on an iron spit. I found the supper delicious and the beverage very refreshing. The usual drink of the Iliyats consists of buttermilk weakened with water; a little salt is added to it, and it is then called *ob-i-dhug.** It is generally sour. There is nothing so efficacious for the purpose of slaking thirst on a hot summer's day, as this ob-i-dhúg.

Before supper was over, the rain re-commenced, and in order to preserve my riding-horse from getting wet, I was obliged to take him inside my tent and close to my couch, there being no other place for his accommodation, as the remaining part of the tent, separated only from my bed-room by a low

* In the French work, entitled "L'Inde Française," &c., edited by Burnouf and Jacquet, I find the following passage:—"Les Indiens prennent rarement du lait frais mais recherchent extrêmement le caillé, appelé *Dhui*, alteré du Sanscrit *Dáhdé*." The áb-*Dhúg* of the Persian Iliyats may probably be of the same origin, or, perhaps, a *Zend* word, the latter being a sister language of the Sanscrit.

partition of plaited reed, was filled with the numerous members of the family and my servants, and a whole lot of young lambkins and kids, in separate cages or pens of plaited reed. The latter kept sneezing and bleating the greater part of the night.

It may be more easily conceived than expressed what a poisonous atmosphere there must have been in a tent of this description, the inclemency of the weather making it necessary to keep it closed; and yet this is one of the least inconveniences to which a traveller is exposed in travelling among this primitive people. If we were to establish a comparison between the comforts, nay, the luxuries, to which Europeans are accustomed when travelling in their own land, and the inconveniences and privations of Eastern locomotion, it would be a constant figure of antithesis. But the appreciation of these relative wants of mankind, ought at the same time to teach us two great truths, which we are ever too prone to pass unheeded, namely, that our

real wants in life might be brought within a very small compass, and that we ought to feel therefore doubly grateful to our God when we enjoy ease and comfort, at a time when thousands of our fellow-creatures are deprived of both.

Independently of the rain, I had another reason for securing my horse inside the tent, as these wild sons of nature, however tenacious they may be about their own property, are not very scrupulous in appropriating to themselves that of their neighbours.

February 16.—I left the encampment at seven, a.m., and proceeded on my journey, the rain pouring in torrents nearly the whole of the way; but as it was the season of the periodical rains in this part of the country, I could not expect that nature would change her laws for my accommodation.

At a quarter-past seven I returned to the road from which I had deviated the preceding day from Kal'eh Riza, and went in a direction north-west. At a quarter-past eight we came to the *Ob-i-Zál*, which, in consequence of the

copious rains, had swollen to such a volume, and was so rapid, that my guide despaired of our being able to cross it; but as I would hear of no stoppage, the passage of the torrent was risked by us, and we happily arrived, although, I think, not without some danger to those who were mounted on smaller and less vigorous horses than the one I rode. We then had to ascend a steep hill on the opposite bank.

The river *Zál*, which has been erroneously confounded with *Ab-i-Dizful*, takes its rise in the mountains of *Ghárd*, to the right of the line of road near *Pul-i-Hál*, and not far from the direct road leading from Dizful to Khorremabad. It is reckoned one of the most rapid streams of this hilly country. We continued our way along a high table land, having to our left the eastern extremity of Kuh-i-Kabir, called *Dumb-Shah*, on the summit of which stands an isolated Imam-Zadeh of *Piri-Shah-Akhmed*, to whose shrine the devout Lurs go on pilgrimage, especially women who desire to be blessed with many children. Further

on the road becomes more rugged; lime and chalk hills press upon either hand.

At a quarter-past nine I took the bearings of the compass: our road lay W.N.W. by N.W.; the pass of *Keilun* N.W. to our right, while the Kerkheh river flowed to our left, at the foot of the Kabir-Kúh.

At a quarter to ten we descended to the Kerkheh stream, and went along its left bank, after having stopped for three-quarters of an hour to rest and partake of the remains of yesterday's pillau and roasted lamb.

At twelve we came to *Pul-i-Teng*, mentioned by Major Rawlinson, with some scattered ruins.

At half-past one we crossed the boundary-line between the possessions of the *Boiragvend* and the *Hasanavend* tribes.

At two we came to *Cheshme-Gherdon*, a pleasant meadow.

At a quarter-past three we turned to the W.S.W., and reached, at half-past three, the river of *Túl-ob* at its junction with the Kerkheh, and which we were to have crossed;

but we found it swelled to such a degree, and, besides, so impetuous, that after several fruitless efforts we were forced to relinquish the attempt, and to turn to the north in the direction of the *Keilún* hills, in order to secure quarters for the night among the Hasanavends. Their tents were pitched at *Ob-i-Gherm*, close to the pass of *Tengi-Leilún*, from whence the *Túl-ob* issues. We arrived at their encampment at four in the afternoon, having travelled from seven to eight farsangs this day. In this dreary and desert region I could make no other observations than just mark down the direction of my route, a subject not very gratifying to the reader, although it may arrest for a moment the attention of the geographer in his anxiety to reap some information on the physical features of these unfrequented tracts.

The rain, our faithful companion for many days past, having ceased, our wardrobe and travelling apparatus were spread on the ground to dry. My last lump of sugar had melted in the *khúrjins*, (or travelling bags, thrown across

the pack-saddles in a journey,) and the syrup made great havoc among my linen, books, and papers, presenting altogether a most pitiable sight.

After laying down to dry myself and clothes in the sun, I was warned to take refuge in a tent, as the rain had again commenced. The family of my host consisted of himself, a young man, his wife, and his aged mother. I seldom met in the East with more genuine affection than was exhibited by the old woman towards her son, and by the young woman towards her husband. In all they did they seemed anxious to please him, while the young man appeared to take their attentions as a matter of course. The next morning, when I signified my desire to take my host part of the way, that he might show me the most practicable ford, his wife immediately ran to saddle the horse for him, which she soon brought up to the tent, and, holding the bridle with one hand and the stirrup with the other, helped him to mount. At parting the old mother entreated me most parti-

cularly to take care of her son, as though he had a long and hazardous journey to perform. But such is in general a mother's love:—she ever apprehends danger for the child of her heart. Of all the affections of this world, a mother's love is, I believe, the most constant, and certainly the most disinterested. I must own that this endearing *scene de famille* was very gratifying to my feelings, after the tales of strife, plunder, revenge, and murder, which had been continually ringing in my ears since I had left Shiráz. It came like the sacred music of Pollock's harp* to calm the mind, troubled and excited by the scenes in "Manfred," or the "Corsair."

The morning was promising, and with light spirits we commenced our journey at half-past six, first to N.N.W., and then crossed the bed of the *Tál-ob* in its upper course, not far distant from *Tengi-Leilán*, in which

* The work alluded to is Pollock's poem on the "Course of Time;" one of the sublimest productions of the British muse, in my humble opinion.

pass the tribe of *Baba-Yusufi* dwell. The guide stripped of the greater part of his clothes, entered the stream in search of a convenient ford to take us across. The water had fallen during the night, and I found the Tál-ob less deep than the Obi-Zál, although the rapidity of its current was quite as great. On parting with my guide, I put an extra piece of money into his hand, not so much for his own sake, because the services he had to render were not so great; but I thought of his aged mother at the time, and was sure she would feel pleased that the merits of her son had been duly appreciated. To our left, the hill of *Kabir* presents likewise a pass called *Tengi-Mojin*, which leads to *Seimerreh*.*

Having traversed the ground of *Mulk-Kuresán*, and the valley of *Tale-Kelú*, we crossed another river at a quarter-past eight,

* See Major Rawlinson's description of the ruins of this Sasanian town, in the "Journal of the Geographical Society," for 1839, No. ix.

which issues from the pass of *Fáni*, and runs in a direction W. N. W.

The mountains between the passes of *Leilán* and *Fáni* are called *Kúh-i-Pesiári*. To the left of this line of road stands the chapel of *Piri-Saleh*, at the foot of *Kúh-i-Kabír*.

At a quarter-past nine we passed *Guri-Jáouder*, and a small lake between hills in a most romantic spot, with a Hasanavend encampment reflected in its waters, and flocks of sheep and goats scattered about the slopes of the mountains, and along the margin of the lake. We continued our march along a hilly country to N. N. W.

At half-past ten we ascended a steep hill in a direction due north, taking leave of the valley of the Kherkheh stream, and bidding likewise farewell to *Kúh-i-Kabír*, the summit of which capped in snow remained behind us.

At eleven we commenced the descent into the plain of *Joïder*. The sight from the heights on which we moved was truly magnificent. The meadow of *Joïder*, watered by

the *Káshgán* river, which issues from a rocky cleft in the mountains, spread its green carpet under our feet, whilst a terraced wall of three successive ranges of hills with their numberless ramifications receded before us to the north. The foremost of the group are the *Dalijé*, after them the *Perú-Periz*, and, lastly, the *Sefid-Kúh* (white hills), with their snowy summits, towering high and far off, closed our visual horizon. These latter are the Alvend range of mountains.

A road strikes off from hence straight to Khorremabad, in direction N.N.E. by N.E., over a wild and mountainous region, called *Chúle-Húl*, and passes by *Kal'eh-ob-serd*, (cold water fort,) where a few wandering *Judaki* families of Nasr-Khan reside.

At three-quarters past eleven we passed by some ruins, said to represent the site of the former town of *Joïder*. At twelve we descended a sloping declivity along a marshy country towards *Gúri-hoshki*. Half an hour more brought us to the spacious meadow of Joïder,

with ruins here and there, and some tents of the Hasanavends. So far I had gone nearly over the same ground which Major Rawlinson had trodden from Joïder to Kal'eh-Riza, on his way from Zoháb to Dizfúl; but henceforth begins the terra incognita, or, at least, a country of which, to my knowledge, with the exception of Khorremabad, no particular account has yet appeared.

After stopping for half an hour, we resumed our march at one o'clock, and in another half hour reached the Kashgán river. Here we had the same difficulties to encounter as those we had met with the preceding day.

Ten athletic men from the neighbouring hamlet came to tender their services, and show us a passable ford over the river. The Kashgán, at the spot we had to cross, presented two channels, having nearly in the middle of the stream a long strip of land, or narrow island. Our new guides, stripped off their clothes, and uttering loud *yells* (*Yellah!* or Ya-Allah! God help us!) soon cleared the first channel, we

following on horseback; but when they came to the second, which was the broader and deeper channel of the two, they declared it impossible to cross. The guides who ventured, soon got into the deep beyond their reach, and losing their footing were swiftly carried down the stream; while others with great difficulty gained the opposite shore. At length, however, by dint of perseverance, they found out a ford, although still a very deep one. There was no time to lose, the water was visibly rising, as is generally the case after noon with rivers that are fed by the melting snow in the mountains. My gulam, seeing the hazardous nature of the enterprise, began strongly to remonstrate, observing that I had been committed to his care, and that he was answerable for my safety. I plainly saw, however, that it was more from anxiety for his own than my safety, and proposed that we should change parts for the occasion, as in case of emergency, I could swim, and perhaps help him, which he probably could not, owing to his manifest aversion to the watery element.

After disengaging ourselves, therefore, of part of our apparel, which we tied on our heads or kept loosely on the saddle, so as to be less encumbered in swimming if put to the test, we plunged into the rapid stream, and in safety gained the opposite shore; not so dry as the Israelites of old, but still, better off than Pharaoh's host, since, happily, none of us were drowned. Although no visible miracle was performed on this occasion, I felt that the hand of Providence was outstretched, and that it was owing to Divine mercy that we were preserved.

When the time came to remunerate my Iliyat guides, for their trouble and exertion, with gold coin, I found they were ignorant of the value of that metal, and preferred a few silver *sahib-corans*,* which I had about me, though greatly inferior in amount.

This trait reminds us of what Pliny says about the town of *Babytace* (on the northern arm of the Tigris, 135 miles distant from Susa,

* A sahib-coran is rather less than a shilling.

and, therefore, not very far from the neighbourhood where we now were), the inhabitants of which were the only people in the world who had an aversion for gold, and that to such a degree that they buried it under-ground, in order that no one should profit by it.*

At three-quarters past two we resumed our journey in a northern direction, and at three crossed another branch of the same river, from whence we soon arrived, by a narrow and stony path (having rocks on one side and the bank of the river on the other), at the magnificent remains of a bridge over the Kashgán, which is considerably narrower at this spot than on the plain, but excessively rapid and deep, being hemmed in by two projecting rocks. The bridge bears the name of *Púl-i-Kuréh-Dokhter*, or, the bridge of the youth and damsel, to which an amorous legend is attached. It is, however, the bridge supposed to have been built by Shapúr, son of Ardashir-Babegan,

* See Pliny's "Natural History," translated into French by Sivry, tom. ii., liv. vii., chap. 27, page 803.

or Artaxerxes, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty.

The rapid current of the river has undermined and swept away the greatest part of it, notwithstanding the solidity of its construction; but still enough remains to testify what a splendid construction it must have been when entire, for even the ruins of the two bridges over the Kúrdistán river, near Arreján, mentioned by me in a former part of these notes, and which Ibn Batútá describes as the wonder of the world, can hardly compete with the massive buttresses still extant of the bridge of Shapúr. I am sorry that time would not allow of my taking a sketch of it, and of the picturesque country around; but so it is when travelling in the East, and I cannot repeat it too often. Something or other always happens either to impede our progress or to compel us to proceed, against our will and inclination. In the present instance, I was not sure of reaching any of the Iliyat encampments before dark; and I was warned not to tarry long on

the road, and be overtaken by the night in this lawless and freebooting country of Luristán.

At half-past four we turned to the N.N.W., and winding up an easy ascent, came, at five, to the encampment of *Siroser Beni-Yusufvend* of the *Silasile* tribe, spread in the form of a fan, at the base of a high hill, and surrounded by a wood of oaks.

A scuffle between my Gulám and an old Yusufvend, in whose tent I had established myself, had well-nigh induced me to leave the encampment and resume my journey, notwithstanding the night was fast approaching, and the rain had set in. I expostulated with my host, who seemed much incensed against my conductor, and very vehement in his gesticulations, which is usually the case with these rough sons of nature, when worked up into passion, as they are taught no restraint.

I received in answer, that as to myself I was very welcome, but that he owed a grudge to that fellow, pointing to my guide; there

existing, as it appeared, a family feud between them, of which I was not previously aware. I declared, however, that as he was in my service for the time being, I would not allow a hair of his head to be touched, and that, if the old gentleman was sincere in his protestations of welcome to me, he must extend his hospitality to the whole of my little party, otherwise I would leave him, and thereby bring shame on his grey hairs; for even the children of his tribe would point at him as one who had driven a stranger from his hearth.

This appeal to his hospitality (a feature so deeply rooted among the wandering tribes of the East) wrought the desired effect. The old sheikh was quickly brought under the influence of better feelings; a reconciliation took place, and I spent the rest of the evening very agreeably, in conversation with the cheerful old man and some of his aged friends, whom curiosity had attracted to his tent, and hospitality retained.

On some of the party expressing surprise why so few *Frengi*, or Europeans, visited their country, I answered that they themselves were the cause of it, as the only travellers who had ventured among them had been treacherously murdered. (These were the two Englishmen, Captains Grant and Fotheringham, of whom Sir John Malcolm speaks in his "History of Persia," vol. ii., page 438.) On this one of the old men present observed, that he remembered the circumstance perfectly well, for he was an eye-witness of their execution; but then, added he, *Kelb-Ali-Khan*, by whose order the deed had been perpetrated, was *yaghi*, or in open rebellion against the authority of the Shah.

I likewise learned from my newly-acquired Lur friends, that *Rúdbar*, with some ancient ruins, lies seven or eight farsangs to the west, and is now known by the name of *Ruari Liálor*.

In a corner of our tent, stood a high wooden frame, at which three of the Iliyat women were seated a-breast, busily occupied

in weaving a very handsome carpet of different shades of wool, producing a very complicated pattern from fancy alone. I have met with even still greater ingenuity among the Turkoman women to the east of the Caspian.

February 18. — We left my *Hasanavend* acquaintances at half-past six, and moved along the banks of the river *Kashgán* in a direction N. N. E., till we reached the mountain of *Perú-Periz*, from whence another road, stretching to the north, leads to *Madian-rúd*, by a pass called *Tengi-Túli-Kesh*.

Proceeding on our journey at half-past seven there is a turning of the road to N. N. W., near which place another joins it, coming from *Jöider*, along the left bank of the *Kashgán*. The upper course of the river in a north-eastern direction is soon lost sight of among the mountains, after receiving an insignificant rivulet on the right; then the road winds in a direction N. W. by N. N. W.

At three-quarters past eight we ascended a

steep hill to the north-west by a zig-zag path, and in half an hour attained the summit of it, covered with groves of oak trees, where we found the atmosphere considerably cooler than in the valley below.

At ten we left the *julgeh* or valley of *Biála* to our left, with a stream of water running through it. As we proceeded onward, the mountains of *Vézenior-Kuh* became visible, rising on our left, whilst the snowy heights of the Kabír-Kúh behind us became likewise apparent. After half an hour's halt, we commenced at half-past eleven the descent to the camp of Hajji-Mullah Ahmed, and in the course of an hour arrived there. It was situated in the spacious valley of *Madian-rú'*, or *Madian-rúd*, in *Kúh-i-Desht*.

In Hajji-Mullah Ahmed, by whom I was cordially greeted, I found an old acquaintance, for we had met some years before on the borders of the Caspian Sea. Whatever may be the foibles and vices of the Persians in general (and where is the mortal who is

exempt from them), there are likewise many redeeming qualities in their character, and it would be ungrateful in me were I not to acknowledge that, with very few exceptions, I have always met with attention, kindness, and hospitality from them.

After some hours spent in pleasant chit-chat with the Hajji, I retired to rest, much fatigued by the day's exertions, although I had not made more than five farsangs.

I learned that, from Madianrú to the Sasanian ruins of *Rudbór*, the Lurs reckon ten or twelve farsangs in a south-western direction.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Forces of Hajji-Mullah Ahmed in camp.—Defects in the organization of the Persian regular troops.—Nomadic life of the Chief of Khorremabád.—Departure from Madianrú.—Stop for the night at Haiyat-Gheïb.—Description of the place.—Various roads from Madianrú to Khorremabád.—Desert of Chúle-Húl.—Departure from Haiyát-Gheïb.—Valley of Dilber.—Woody country inhabited by the Chingúni.—Plain of Khorremabád.—Black stone with Cufic inscriptions.—Arrival at Khorremabád.—Divan-Khaneh of the Kedkhúda in my apartment.

The camp of the Hajji wore quite a military appearance. There was the 6th faúj or Regiment of Tebriz, under the command of Jemshid-Khan; the next regiment, 1200 strong, was composed of the natives of Luristán, of the Delfán tribe. This military force, assembled to check the turbulence of the mountaineers, would have proved of little avail to Hajji-Mullah Ahmed, had the different Lur tribes been actuated by a spirit of unanimity, for

there existed very little discipline among his own troops.

The command of the first-named regiment was committed to an upstart youth of sixteen, because his father was patronized by the Prime Minister. The youth's head seemed quite bewildered by the adulation of the sycophants who surrounded him, and therefore little order could be expected among the soldiery. Hence the grand failure of the Persian military organization; for it is not by regular gradation, or through personal merit that high stations in the army are obtained; it is mostly through court favour and intrigue. Another custom likewise prevails here. As the army is recruited chiefly from the Nomadic population of the country; each tribe in offering its contingent, chooses out of its own clan a chief to command it; his nomination, however, requires the sanction of the Shah. It often happens that a mere child is placed at the head of a regiment because his father rules the tribe; and in many instances the colonelcy even becomes hereditary.

I learned from the Hajji that the governors of Luristán-Kuchúk sometimes remain during the summer at Khorremabád, and sometimes spend it on the high table-land, and among the valleys of the Zagros, where the Iliyats usually feed their flocks during the hot season. In winter they follow them to their *germesir*, or winter pastures, and encamp at Kúh-Dásht and Joïder, both very spacious plains surrounded by mountains, with fine grazing grounds, and plenty of wood. It is policy which induces the governors sent by the Shah to rule over Luristán to follow the movements of the wandering tribes, in order to keep a watchful eye on them; otherwise they would find it a still heavier task than it already is, to maintain anything like order amongst so wild a population.

In consequence of the Moétemid's letter, Hajji-Mullah Ahmed supplied me with horses and a guide to Burujird. I had likewise taken the precaution, on leaving Teherán, of providing myself with an order, or ferman from the Shah, for the governors, and all kedkhúdas, or chiefs

of villages, to furnish me with horses, in such places where no post stations were established.

The following morning, the 19th of February, I left the camp at a quarter-past eight, a.m., under a very heavy rain, and proceeded in a direction north-east. At a quarter to nine I crossed the river of *Madianrú*, the source of which lies two farsangs to the north; three farsangs lower down to the south-east it flows into the Kashgán river. At a quarter-past nine we ascended a hill, and went along heights covered with oak, in a direction due east. This part of the country of Kúh-Dásht is chiefly inhabited by the *Dilfán* tribe and the *Azad-Bahkti*, who belong to the sect of the Ali-Iláhi, or the worshippers of Ali, whom they recognise as one of the incarnations of the Deity.

At a quarter-past eleven we mounted another hill, and soon came down to the bed of a rivulet full of cascades. After two hours' march, we turned to the south-east, and crossed several times another insignificant stream, the *Kaliab*,

which proceeds from Khú-Dásht, close to the Imam-Zadeh of *Daoud-Resh*. At a quarter-past two we arrived at the village of *Hayat-Ghëib* with a *Piri*, or Imam-Zadeh of the same name, a stone building, with a medresseh, or college, in a very dilapidated state. The village is inhabited by the *Kulivend* of the *Silasile* tribe, consisting chiefly of Seyïds, or descendants of the Prophet; and therefore nothing was to be procured for ourselves or our cattle. The dwellings are partly thatched with reeds, partly covered with coarse cloth of goats' hair, a strange mixture of settled and camp life, but retaining only the disadvantages of both. The river Kashgán flows close to this village.

From the camps of Madianrú three roads lead to Khorremabád.

The first, to the north, crosses the Púl, or bridge of Kashgán, over the river of the same name.

The second leads over *Hayat-Ghëib*, where the Kashgán river can be forded; and

The third, to the south of the latter, is

said to pass, by a natural bridge, over the same river at a place called *Pul-i-Kali-Hurt.*

Between *Pul-i-Kali-Hurt* and *Pul-i-Kuréh-Dokhter*, or the bridge of Shapúr, are the ruins of a town, which among the Lurs goes by the name of *Shehr-i-Lut*, or the town of *Lot.* It is situated in the desert of *Chulé-Hul.* This is not, however, the only spot where the Persians suppose that the remains of such a town are to be seen. In the Great Salt desert beyond *Kum* it is also sought for.

Chulé-Hul is an extensive tract of country, partly barren, partly covered with oak. It is only partially inhabited in winter; but in summer it is perfectly desolate, being nearly destitute of water.

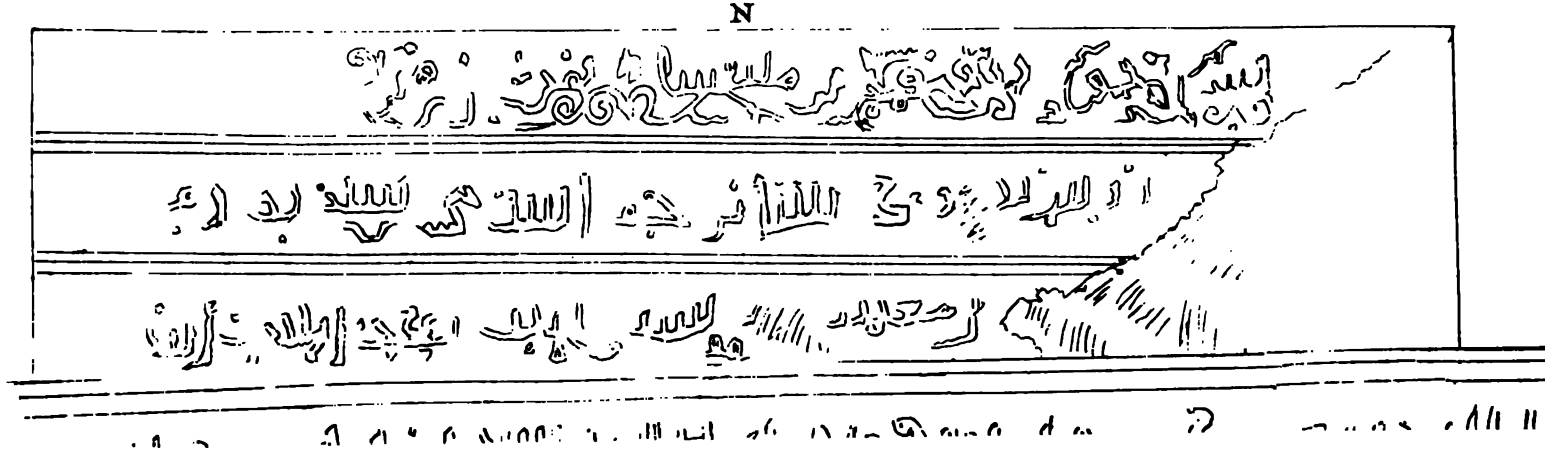
February 20.—On leaving *Hayat-Ghëib* the next morning at a quarter-past six, we forded the river Kashgán, and immediately rose by a serpentine, and in many parts, difficult ascent, until we reached, at a quarter-past seven, the summit of the *Boghelú* hill, at the foot

of which the beautiful valley of *Dilbér* spreads its green carpet. The Persians themselves seem aware of the loveliness of the spot, as the word *Dil-bér* means captivating the heart. The river Khorremabád flows through it, and empties itself into the Kashgán, which comes from the north-east, and runs impetuously through a narrow pass in the mountains before it re-appears at *Hayat-Ghëib*.

The extremities of the black and craggy hills of *Yaftah*, at the foot of which stands the town of Khorremabád, shoot in an eastern direction. On turning round, I found the hill I had passed the preceding day bearing to the west, and behind it, inclining to the south-west, the position of the camp of Hajji-Mullah Ahmed was pointed out to me, although it was itself hid from my sight. This hill is called *Kúrú Shúrab*, and is partly covered with snow.

The *Sefid-Kúh*, or snowy hills which constitute the great chain of the Alvend, stretch from north-west to south-east; but between

CUFIC INSCRIPTION AT KHORREMABÁD.



them and the heights on which I moved extends the *Yaftah-Kúh* range.

I now gradually descended, and passed through a woody and uneven country, which, however, must be a beautiful spot in spring and autumn, until I reached, at a quarter to eleven, the river *Ob-i-tel*, running from S.S.E., and discharging its waters into the river of Khorremabád.

At eleven I stopped at the village of *Chingúni*, situated on a rising ground, and consisting of a few hovels, similar to many other hamlets which I saw scattered about this woody district, which goes by the name of *Sahraï Chingoï*.

The Chingúni people looked very miserable, and complained of being much oppressed. They appear to be aliens in these parts, though I could not make out from whence they originally came. May they not be of the gipsy race? After stopping here half an hour I resumed my journey.

At a quarter to twelve we crossed the river *Shúr-ob*, which likewise falls into the river Khor-

remabád. And at half-past twelve I fell into the main road, leading straight from *Joïder* over *Chule-Húl*, in a direction from south-west to east, while to the south-east, on the brow of the mountain, is seen the tomb of *Piri-Shahin-Shah*, close to the road coming from *Kil-ob* and Dizfúl to Khorremabád, the one by which Major Rawlinson returned from Khúzistan to Kermanshah, and very probably the same traversed by the retreating army of Antigonus after his discomfiture by Eumenes.*

I shall now note down some villages I passed on the plain of Khorremabád, before I entered the town.

At a-quarter-past one, the village of *Chamo-kúrúh*, situated on both sides of the river Khorremabád, the town of the same name becoming visible to E.N.E.

At half-past one, the rivulet of *Bedrabád*, and, to the left, the village of *Jaldán*, the pro-

* See Diod. Sic., translated by Miot, vol. vi., lib. xix., chap. 19, page 42.

perty of Seyd-Azis, lying on the opposite shore of Khorremabád river.

At three-quarters past one, to the right, the village of *Piri-Bozar*, a little further, that of *Musúm* and *Masúd*.

At two o'clock, to the left on the opposite shore, the village of *Ghileveran* stretched at the foot of the *Yaftah Kúh*.

At a-quarter past two, a bridge and ruins of a town, with a mutilated minár, and close to it the remains of some extensive buildings.

I thus minutely note down these different places, however insignificant they may be, because the plain of Khorremabád is not much known, and European travellers seldom venture in this direction.

A short distance from the ruins first mentioned, close to the high road, at the foot of a hill, is a four-cornered black stone with Cufic inscriptions on each face of it.

Before entering the town of Khorremabád (which is nearly opposite to it on the right bank of the river), I stopped to take a copy,

and it was not until it became dusk, that I left the spot, without being able to finish the task to my satisfaction, the characters being materially damaged by time.

As Khorremabád lies on the right banks of the river, I had to cross a low stone bridge, close to which is a cypress grove. No lodgings having been secured before my arrival, I was first taken into the fort (situated on the top of an isolated rock) by a very steep path. Here no spare room was to be found, and I had to retrace my steps down again. At last a room was procured in the house of one of the kedkhúdas of the town, who had been charged with the administration of it during the absence of Hajji-Mullah Ahmed; but scarcely had I taken possession of my apartment before it was filled by the Lurs who had followed the master of the house, and established themselves comfortably round the walls. For several hours I was doomed to answer the inquisitive kedkhúda and his company. After that a regular *Divan Khanéh*, or court of

justice was established in the same room. Crowds pressed in and out; complaints were lodged; differences were settled; appeals were heard. At length my patience was exhausted, and I thought it my turn also to appeal to my host, who sat in judgment there. I told him I felt much edified by the distribution of justice at his tribunal; but nevertheless, as it was waxing late, and I had to rise early the next day, I hoped he would not take it amiss if I were to retire into my bed-room. The audience hall being destined for that purpose, my host took the hint, and one by one the company made their exit, to my no small relief.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Description of Khorremabád.—Trade of the town.—Garden of Cypresses.—Superstitious belief attached to them.—Khorremabád destroyed by Timúr.—For some time in possession of the Pasha of Bagdad.—Black monolite with Cufic inscriptions.—Departure from Khorremabád.—Arrival at the village of Resh.—Mode of baking bread.—Stability of Eastern customs.—Passage over the high chain of the Alvend.—Arrival at Búrújírd.

I SHALL take the liberty to extract here from Major Rawlinson's notes, already so often quoted, the passage which gives a faithful account of the town of Khorremabád:—

"Khorremabád," says the author, "is a singular place, a range of rocky hills stretching across the plain, in the usual direction of north-west and south-east, has been suddenly broken off to admit the passage of the river for the space of about three quarters of a mile, leaving, in the centre of the open space, a solitary rock nearly a thousand yards in circum-

ference; the rock is very steep, and near its summit is a most copious spring. This is the fort of Khorremabád. It is surrounded by a double wall at the base, and the summit, where the palace is built, is also very strongly defended. The palace, which was erected by Muhammed Ali-Mirza, is a very elegant building. A magnificent reservoir, sixty yards by forty, which is fed by the spring, has been formed within it, and there is also a garden of some extent. The fort contains exclusively the palace and its depending buildings.

"The modern town, which is small, containing not more than one thousand houses, is built below the fort upon its south-western face. The river, a broad shallow stream, passes along to the south-east of the fort and town; the banks are covered with gardens, and among them are to be seen the remains of the old town, the capital of the Atabegs of Luri Kúchúk."*

* These are the ruins, mentioned in the preceding chapter, on the left bank of the river.

In offering here a sketch I drew of the town and environs, I may add to the above description, that Khorremabád has four mosques, eight public baths, and a separate quarter assigned for the Jews, the number of whose houses may average from forty to fifty. The fort is defended by six cannons, which have been there since the time of Muhammed Ali-Mirza, and were not removed, as the greater part of the guns were, from the different Persian towns, by order of Muhammed Shah, soon after his accession to the throne, to be concentrated in the capital. It was a precautionary measure, at a time when the newly-established Government was not sure whether it could rely on the fidelity of the provincial towns of the empire.

The heights of Yaftah Kúh, frowning over Khorremabád, are surmounted by a tower, in which two brass cannons are placed, commanding the town below.

Khorremabád carries on a trade in chúbúks for pipes; in otter-skins, as this animal is found

T.C. Dutton, lith. from a Sketch by the Author

Day & Haghe, Lith.rs to the Queen

KHORREMÁBAD CHIEF TOWN IN LURISTÁN KÚCHÚK.

London Published by J. Madden & Co.

in all the rivers of Luristán and Kurdistán; in the juice of the pomegranate, the produce of its gardens, where fine grapes likewise grow.

On the left side of the river is a spacious garden with rows of splendid cypress-trees. There exists a current belief among the superstitious Persians, that these cypresses are endowed with a supernatural power. They say, that on a certain day in the year, namely, on the 10th of Moharem (which is the *ruz-i-katl*, or the day when their holy Imam-Hasan, son of Ali, was slain by the orders of Yezid, and at the time when the faithful Shia-Mussulmans are bewailing his fate), these trees begin to be agitated and tremble all over, however calm the air, and without any external cause to produce their shaking.

It is unnecessary to dwell on the supposed antiquity of Khorremabád, or on its probable ancient appellation. Those who are interested in the subject are referred to the valuable notes of Major Rawlinson.

In comparatively modern times we find mention of the name of Khorremabád in oriental authors, about the close of the fourteenth century, namely, in 1386, Sheref-u-din, the annalist of Amír Timúr's campaigns, writes, that this conqueror, in order to chastise the Lurs for the assaults committed by them on Mussulman pilgrims, took possession of Khorremabád, and levelled it with the ground.*

It appears, however, that either the town soon rose from its ashes, or was not totally destroyed, for we find that eight years later (in 1394) Timúr marched once more into the provinces of Luristán and Khuzistán, and made himself master of Marvan, Kion, and *Khorremabád*,† &c.

During the Afghán sway over part of Persia, the Pasha of Bagdad took possession for a time of this town, which he found empty, the

* See De Guigne's "Histoire Genérale des Huns," tom. iv., p. 22.

† Ibid, p. 33.

inhabitants having left it, after their Vali, Ali Merdan-Khan, had retired to Khuzistán, at the approach of the Turks. *

Before resuming my journey the next morning, I returned to the monument with the Cufic inscription, in order to finish, as well as I could, the copy of them. I do not know how far these copies can be deciphered by those who read the Cufic character, owing to the great difficulty I found in making out the letters.

This monolite, measuring twelve spans in height, thirteen in length, and eleven in breadth, must have been extracted from a quarry in the neighbourhood, as the nature and colour of the stone resemble the strata of which the surrounding mountains are formed. It is not so black, nor is the grain so fine, as the Persepolitan stone, though it participates, I believe, in the same nature, being

† See Jonas Hanway's "Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea," &c., vol. ii., part x., p. 238, London edition, 1764.

a formation of limestone with the presence of carbon. *

The northern face of the stone contains four lines; on the first or uppermost the letters appear to be more ornamented than on the other parts of the stone. Under the inscription are some strange characters, with sharp edges, but greatly defaced. They represent, perhaps, the date of the inscription.

The tablet on the western side consists of six lines, that to the south of five, and the one to the east of only four; but they extend nearly the whole length. The lower lines are so close to the ground that I was obliged to lie down to copy them.

I was told by my guide, as a fact known to the inhabitants of Khorremabád, that this monument stands on a raised platform, consisting of seven steps (like those of Múrgáb), but that, in the course of time, the lower part has been covered with earth, swept from the

* See Mr. Ainsworth's "Researches in Assyria, Babylon, and Chaldea," p. 234.

mountains; a circumstance which can easily be admitted from what we see at Persepolis, where a deep crust of earth now hides from the inquisitive eye many a curious relic of antiquity in that magnificent pile of buildings.

Several roads lead from Khorremabád to Búrújird; but at this season of the year great obstacles to travellers present themselves on account of the deep snow which cover the valleys and the high range of mountains separating Luristán from Irak-Ajem; although the distance in a straight line does not exceed twelve or thirteen farsangs.

The general direction of the road is north-east, with a few deviations of the compass.

My first day's march took me through a hilly country, intersected by valleys, of which Húru is the most spacious.

I crossed thrice the river of Khorremabád; the first time on leaving the town, the next not far from it to the east,—both times over stone bridges,—and the third in the plain of *Nemekelán*, separated from Húru by a narrow

belt of the *Rúmili* hills. I found on the road some crumbling remnants of a wall, called the Turkish wall, and said to have been erected by the Turks during the distracted state into which Persia was thrown in the last century by the Afgháns. The rain accompanied us until our halt for the night, in one of the miserable hovels of the village of *Resh*, situated on the banks of the *Khoshki-rú*,* which falls into the Kashgán river.

We had now quitted the wooded part of Luristán, and the fuel allotted for my consumption consisted of dried manure, fashioned into cylindrical cakes, such as are used in many parts of Irak, where wood is scarce. In burning it emits a thick smoke, but the cakes have the advantage of retaining the heat for a long time.

The hut had no chimney; a round hole in the middle of the room served in lieu thereof, into which the *kiziks* (as these cakes are called) were introduced; and as the door could not be

* Khoshki-rú, or rúd, meaning a *dry river*.

kept open, because of the bleak weather, the smoke first visited all the corners of the room before it found vent through the aperture in the ceiling. When the kiziks had burnt out, leaving hot coals at the bottom of the pit, and its sides well heated, the wife of my host, a poor woman all in rags, came to bake bread in it. She first took a piece of the kneaded paste, and, spreading it into a thin leaf in the palm of her hand, in the form of a pancake, applied the paste against the inner walls of the oven, first baking one side then the other. The Iliyat women likewise bake their bread on the hearth. This mode of preparation carries us back to the days of Abraham, when he treated the three strange guests in his tents.

"And Abraham hastened into the tent unto Sarah, and said, Make ready quick three measures of fine meal, knead it, and make cakes upon the hearth." (Genesis xviii. 7.)

The traveller wandering in the East meets at every step with some illustration of what is written in the holy Scriptures; and passages which

formerly may have puzzled, now strike him by their fidelity to nature. The customs and manners of these pastoral tribes have remained the same, or have undergone few alterations, since the commencement of the world; because they are founded not on the fictitious, but on the real wants of man, and are in harmony with the nature of the country they occupy.

The meal cakes were quickly baked, and the housewife performed her task very ably, twisting them in her hands, as she took them hot out of the oven, without burning her fingers. When this part of the ceremony was over, the next difficulty was that of eating the cakes; for, however great was my hunger, I had to overcome my reluctance to swallow them, having been witness of the whole manipulation, and (entre nous soit dit) the hands of the swarthy dame were not of the cleanest.

On waking the next morning we found that the rain had changed into snow, and it was doubted whether we could succeed that day in crossing the high chain. However, eight

stout peasants were procured to lead the way, by treading the snow under-foot, and thus opening a path for the horses, there being no road.

Fortunately for us the weather cleared up as we were ascending the mountains; but the difficulties and the fatigues we had to encounter during our progress beggar all description. Notwithstanding the efforts of the men to prepare a beaten track, the snow was not sufficiently solid, and it was so deep that the horses were continually sinking up to their girths, still unable to arrive at any solid footing. There was no possibility of keeping one's saddle, so our party dismounted, each leading his horse; man and beast were continually stumbling, falling, sinking, and plunging, in order to extricate themselves from this abyss of snow.

The country around presented one uniform white sheet, not spread over an even surface, but over one upon which the convulsions of nature had been most busy, and where they had left indelible traces of their passage. It

was the lofty chain of Alvend. Mountains overhung mountains, behind which still higher mountains reared their heads, the whole group clad in the same silvery mantle.

It was a chilling sight to look at these regions of eternal snow and ice, and yet our party was far from feeling cold. The perspiration ran down our faces, while a column of steam rose from our panting horses, and the white foam from under the saddles showed plainly how strenuous were their exertions.

When a school-boy, I had read with interest the march of Hannibal across the Alps and the Appennines; in later years I had followed with no less anxiety, Napoleon over Mount Cenis, Mount St. Bernard, and the Simplon; but however faithful the narratives of their annalists may be, my imagination had fallen short of the severe hardships their armies had to encounter until personal experience taught me their full extent.

On arriving at the summit of a hill, my rustic companions announced that the greatest

difficulties had been overcome, and as my guide from Madianrú was acquainted with the country, they begged leave to return home. A few ducats made them very happy; with light hearts they retraced their steps, while we proceeded along the crest of the hill where the snow was less deep, but still without the least vestige of a road. The wind in these elevated regions was so strong that we ran the risk of being swept down. The descent into a glen soon sheltered us from the bleakness of the weather, but the slope of the hill was so precipitous that had it not been for the snow which covered the face of the rock, and into which our feet and the horses' hoofs sunk as we advanced, we never could have attempted it.

On issuing out of the glen we came, not like the Carthaginians of old, into the lovely plains of Lombardy, but into a valley watered by a mountain stream, and stopped at the village of Búzihúl, in which a colony of Lúrs are settled. Here we rested awhile, partook of some refreshment, and then continued our road across a

secondary range of mountains of a clayey and chalky nature.

On leaving them we descended into the plain of Búrújird, studded with villages, and having plenty of pasture ground. On approaching the town the gardens increased in number and size; we only entered the gates of Búrújird after sunset. The distance from the preceding night's halting-place may be reckoned about eight farsangs, although my fatigue and the intricacy of the road prevented me from keeping a minute account of the day's march.

CHAPTER XXIX.

"Property is there the creature of power and not of law, and possession forms no security where plunder is the preferable right." *Dr. Keith, Of the Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion.*

Description of Luristán-Kuchúk.—Limits.—Pish-kuh and Pusht-i-kuh.—The Alvend and Taughi-Girrah chains of mountains.—Reasons for considering the former the loftiest of the two.—Parallel system of the mountain-ridges observable in the Zagros chain.—Rivers.—Luristán-Kuchúk anciently inhabited by the Cossæans.—Traversed by Antigonus.—Later by the Arabs.—Timur's expedition into Luristán during the reign of the Atabegs.—The Valis of Luristán, Gurjistán, Kurdistán, and Arabistán.—Conduct of the Vali of Luristán during the Afghán invasion into Persia.—Recent intrigues among the members of that family.—Division of the tribes of Luristán-Kuchúk.—Pishi-kúh tribes.—The Silasilé.—The Dilfúns.—The 'Amaláh.—The Balá-Gheriveh.—The Púsht-kúh tribes.—The Feili, &c.—Taxation.—Produce of the country.—Character, religion, and customs of the Lurs.—Burning incense at the approach of

a guest.—A similar custom mentioned in Ferdausi's "Shah-nameh" as existing among Arabs in the early ages of the world.

LURISTAN-KUCHUK is bounded on the north by Búrújírd and Kermanshah; the river Dizfúl separates it on the east from the Bakhtiyari of Luristán-Buzurg, but the boundary line on the south and west is much more uncertain, as the Lurish tribes, in their winter migrations, disperse with their flocks over the plains of Dizfúl, lying to the southward of their mountains, and meet with the wandering Arabs on the Turkish frontier on the west in the vast Assyrian plains.

Luristán-Kuchúk has two principal divisions, *Luristán Pish-Kuh*, and *Luristán Pusht-i-Kuh*, or *Cis* and *Transalpine Luristán*. The former lies east, and the latter west, of the great Zagros chain.

The town of *Khorremabád*, the chief place of Luristán-Kuchúk, is situated in Pish-Kúh, which has likewise many villages, whose inhabitants lead a sedentary life, whilst those of

Pusht-i-Kúh have no other habitations than their black tents, and wander from place to place.

Luristán is, perhaps, one of the most hilly countries in the Persian dominions, not excepting Kurdistán. Independently of the great chain which proceeds from the pass of Taughi-Girrah and separates Pish-Kúh from Pusht-i-Kúh, there is another lofty range of mountains to the north-east, projecting from the *Alvend*, and which, passing between Khorremabád and Búrújírd, follows, like the former, a south-easterly direction.

It is at the northern foot of this latter range, which may be called the Alvend range, that the valleys of Silahúr, Jopelag, and Fereidán extend, as noticed in chapter xix.

The mountain-chain proceeding from *Taughi-Girrah*, and known by the name of Zagros, is generally looked upon as the principal range which extends from Kurdistán to the shores of the Persian Gulf. But if we derive our reasons for assigning a principal place to moun-

tains from their altitude, the chain of the *Alvend* (the Orontes of the ancients), which runs in the same direction, ought to have precedence, inasmuch as it is the loftiest of the two. There we likewise meet with the highest points, such as *Alvend*, near Hamadan, *Ushtúrún-kuh*, near Búrújírd, *Zardeh-kúh*, not far from Isfahán, and the mountainous country of Ardekán, in Fars. I am ignorant of the actual relative heights of these two chains; the reasons, however, on which I found my supposition as to the greater altitude of the *Alvend* are the following:—

On crossing the mountains from Khorremabád to Búrújírd, I found them covered with very deep snow, not only on the heights, but descending the face of the mountains to a considerable extent, whilst on those which I passed at *Keilún* and *Joïder* a few days previous, I found none, or hardly any snow, excepting to the west of the line of road, and a few patches on the summits of the *Kabir-kúh*, although this was in winter, in the month of February.

In the second place, several of the great rivers which flow through Luristán have their source in the *Alvend* range, and not the Taughi-Girrah, such as the Dizfúl river, and the Kashgan, while the main branch of the Kerkheh, the *Kara-Sú* river, takes its rise in the Kurdish mountains, still more to the north. The Kúren and the Jerahi, or Táb river have likewise their source in the same chain which constitutes the continuation of the Alvend.

The declivity of the country from north to south is very perceptible, and may easily be ascertained by the rapid current of the rivers which run in that direction.

Lastly, the difference in the climate was likewise very sensible, and I might compare this change of atmosphere between the Alvend and the Taughi-Girrah, with what I felt in the terraced heights of Fars, between Kutel-i-Piri-Zen, and Kútel-i-Dokhter.

In the system of the Zagros (using the word in its extensive meaning) there exists a parallel succession of mountain chains, of which the

Alvend forms the *spine*, while the others gradually lower as they recede to the north and to the south of this principal chain.

The *Alvend* as well as the *Taughi* chain, branches out in various directions, which constitutes Luristán a perfect net-work of mountains, intersected by valleys, and watered by some considerable rivers. These latter are the following:—

The *Dizfúl* river, or Diz, which takes its rise near Búrújird. It is formed by the junction of two mountain-streams, after which it precipitates its waters through a very rugged and hilly country till it enters on the plains of Dizfúl. Here, having passed through the town of the same name, and approached the ruins of Shúsh, it turns abruptly to the south-east, and joins the Kúren at *Bendi-kir*.

The *Balarúd* is a tributary of the Dizfúl river on its right, as well as the *Shapúr*, or *Shúver* river, both of which run close by the ruins of ancient Susa.

The *Kerkheh* is formed of several consider-

able streams which have their different sources in the provinces of Nehovénd, Hamadan, Kermanshah, and Persian Kurdistán, or Ardelán.* This river likewise assumes different names in the different places through which it flows; thus, in Kermanshah it is known under the appellation of *Karasú;* lower down it is the *Gamasab*; and near the ruins of Shúsh it bears the name of *Kerkheh.* Its principal confluents in Luristán are the *Kashgán* (with its tributary the *Khorremabád* river) and the

* In the year 1837 I visited the principal source of the *Kara-sú* where there is a small town built at the very foot of the mountain, out of which the waters of the Kara-sú rush with impetuosity from the apertures of the hill between its different strata. The volume of water is so considerable, that just below the town all the streams from the different streets join, and form a very respectable river, which, under the name of *Kara-sú*, flows along the plain before it enters that of Mahidasht, near Kermanshah.

I regret that I am unable to produce at present a sketch map of the course of the different rivers of Kurdistán and Luristán, together with the direction of the mountain chains, which were drawn for my information by the united kindness of several of my Kurdish friends.

Ob-i-Zal, both very rapid streams, which cut through the mountains of Pish-Kuh.

Luristán has always been looked upon as one of the most unruly provinces of Persia. The mountainous nature of the country, its distance from the seat of Government, its vicinity to the Turkish frontier, and, above all, the wild character of its inhabitants, have rendered the authority of the Persian sovereigns at all times very precarious.

Among other instructions which *Mangú-Khan* gave to his brother *Hulagú*, on sending him to govern Iran, was that of exterminating the *Lurs* and *Kúrds* on account of their plundering on the high roads.*

In ancient times we find that Luristán-Kuchúk was inhabited by the *Cossæans*, and they were at that time already described as wild and plundering mountaineers by Strabo, Arrian, Q. Curtius, and Diodorus.

I feel more inclined to embrace the opinion of

* See in Collection Orientale—Raschid-el-Din's "Histoire des Mogols de la Perse," tr. par Quatremère, tom. i., p. 143.

Major Rawlinson, who thinks that Antigonus passed through this part of the country after the defeat of his army by Eumenes,* than to follow the routes which the Rev. F. Williams has traced out for him in his ingenious researches on the probable site of Ecbatana;† but it would be foreign to our subject to discuss that point.

But this is not the only instance in which Luristán has been visited by invading armies. At the commencement of the Arab conquest of Persia, we read that the Basori (Boseri) Arabs, who had established themselves in Ahváz, entered Media under the command of Noman Ibn-Makran, who marched from Khúzistán up the Kerah (the Kerkheh), and defeated the Persian army at Nehavend; whereas another Arab Chief, named Ibn-Abdallah, had not been able to

* See "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," vol. ix. p. 91.

† See the Rev. F. Williams's "Two Essays on the Geography of ancient Asia," 1829, p. 45 and the following.

succeed in forcing the passage across Mount Zagros, at Taughi-Girrah.*

In Mirkhond's "History of the Sultans of the Búyah Dynasty," we find that *Merdawidj*, with the help of Abu-Shúja, the Deilemite, joined *Luristán* to the other possessions which he had wrested from *Macan*, Prince of the Samanian family; but it appears that this province did not remain long in his possession, for soon after, the sons of Buyah or Abu-Shuja forced Merdawidj to content himself with Ghilan and Deilem, whilst they became masters of the southern and western provinces of Persia, and supplanted the Samanian dynasty at the Court of the Caliphs of Bagdad.†

From the eleventh to the end of the sixteenth century, Luristán was governed by its

* See page 236 of the Rev. T. Williams's "Essay on the Geography of the Anabasis," where he quotes Golius, p. 226.

† See Mirkhond's "History of the Sultans of the Buyah Race," tr. by Fred. Wilken.

own Atabegs, of the dynasty of the *Khúrshids*, but so little is known, that any information about them is uncertain. D'Herbelot in his "Bibliothèque Orientale" actually makes no mention of this dynasty.

We learn from Timúr's military expedition into Persia, that this conqueror marched against Luristán, in order to punish its inhabitants for plundering caravans passing to and from Mecca. The passage we allude to in De Guigne's "History of the Teymurids," runs thus:—

"In 1386, Timúr having assembled his whole army, crossed the Gihon and proceeded to Féruz-kúh, from whence, at the head of a body of troops, he marched against *Axeddin*, King of the *Lor* country (more correctly *Lur*), who, with his subjects, committed great outrages against the Mussulmans, and had plundered a caravan from Mecca. Timúr proceeded in haste towards *Loristán* (Luristán), took possession of Buroudjird (Búrújírd), and *Khorremabád*, to which place the robbers had

retired. He destroyed this latter town, and had a great number of them precipitated from the summit of the mountains. After conquering this country, Timúr joined his main force in the plain of Nehovend," &c.*

In the sixteenth century, Shah Abbas the Great, who introduced so many innovations into Persia, abolished the title of Atabeg in Luristán-Kúchúk, and conferred that of Vali on the chief of this province, which denomination has been retained ever since by the descendants of Husein Khan, the first who received that title. We have already mentioned, on a previous occasion, that there existed formerly four *Valis*, who were reckoned the chief vassals of the Shah, and had a right to sit in his presence. They were, the Vali of Gurjistán or Georgia; the Vali of Kurdistán or Ardelán; the Vali of Luristán; and the Vali of Arabistán or Havizaa. Of these tributary princes, two only, namely, the Vali of Kurdistán and

* See De Guigne's "Histoire Générale des Huns," tom. iv., lib. xx., page 22.

Luristán, have retained their titles, although they do not possess any longer that degree of independence which they formerly enjoyed. I believe the last Vali of Arabistán, mentioned in history, is the one who treacherously betrayed into the hands of the Afgháns the crown of Shah Sultan Husein, that unfortunate Prince of the Séfevi dynasty. As to the Valis of Gurjistán, weakened by the bloody invasion of Aga Muhammed-Khan, in the latter end of the eighteenth century, and unable to resist the incessant attacks of the Turks and Persians, as well as their other inveterate enemies the Mussulman tribes of the Caucasus, they gave themselves up to Russia, to which they were already linked by the tie of the same religious faith.

At the time of the Afghán invasion of Persia, the Vali of Luristán re-appears on the stage of history in a very favourable light. Previous to that event, Ali Merdan-Khan, the Vali in question, had been banished to Kerman through some court intrigue, and his younger

brother was named Vali in his stead; but when the Afgháns laid siege to Isfahán, Shah Sultan Husein, aware of the great abilities of this nobleman, re-called and named him Commander-in-Chief of all the Persian forces, who were to assemble at *Khúnsar*; and Persia at that critical moment might still have been delivered from the enemy, had not the Governors of the provinces sacrificed the welfare of the State to their personal pride, by refusing to serve under a Lurish Chief.

Single handed, Ali Merdan-Khan still continued to show his zeal and devotion in his country's cause; he found means to collect a great store of provisions for the besieged inhabitants of Isfahán, who were already suffering the horrors of famine; and was on the point of introducing these stores into the city, at the head of 6,000 of his Lur vassals, when his young brother, jealous of the glory which the Vali would reap from such an achievement, thwarted his designs. Profiting by the momentary absence of Ali Merdan-Khan, he rashly attacked

the Afgháns with his Lur troops, was routed, 3,000 of his men killed, and the rest put to flight.

We find, at a later period, though still during the Afghán dominion over Persia, that the Vali of Luristán, unable to resist the progress of the Turks, who were making inroads on the western provinces of Irán, retreated for a time to Khuzistán with 15,000 men, while Ahmed-Pasha, of Bagdad, entered Luristán, and took possession of Khorremabád. In order, however, to draw the Turkish army out of his country, the Vali, with the Khans of Ahváz and Shúshter, invaded the territory of Bagdad, and by this able manœuvre, forced Ahmed-Pasha to retrace his steps and evacuate Luristán.*

During the lifetime of Muhammed-Ali Mirza, son of Fet'h-Ali-Shah, Kermanshah, with Luristán, were under his dominion, and as he was a man of great energy, order was

* See Jonas Hanway's "Account of the British Trade over the Caspian," &c., vol. ii., p. 238.

maintained in these provinces. But after his death, Luristán returned to a state of insubordination, and great disorders were committed. Hasan-Khan Feïli, the representative of the Vali family, would not recognise his allegiance to the Shah, and, for a considerable time, acted as an independent Chief. The Persian Government, like all feeble states when they cannot enforce their authority, strove by intrigue to weaken the power of the Vali, by sowing the seeds of contention among the members of his family. A misunderstanding took place between Hasan-Khan and his sons in consequence of a letter which the late Governor of Luristán, Mirza Buzúrg, is said to have forged under the hand-writing of Ali-Khan, the eldest son of the Vali, addressed to his younger brother, Ahmed-Khan, in which he engaged the latter to enter into a conspiracy against their father. This letter was intentionally dropped in the tent of the old man, who, on learning the contents, had his sons immediately secured. Ali-Khan and Ah-

med-Khan soon found means to escape, and sought protection with Mirza Buzúrg, who espoused their cause. A contest ensued, the consequence of which was, that the old Vali was forced to fly towards the Arabs of the desert. A reconciliation was afterwards brought about between the father and the sons, and during his life Hasan-Khan continued in Pushti-Kúh to defy the Persian authorities. Since his death the sons have disagreed with each other. The pretensions of Heider-Ali-Khan, the third son of the Vali, to inherit the title of his father, are upheld by the representatives of the Shah in Luristán, while the elder brothers, Ali-Khan and Ahmed-Khan have taken refuge with the Assyrian Arabs on the Turkish frontier.

A short time before I visited Luristán-Kúchúk, the country was in a perfect uproar; all the Nomads were in a state of excitement; and it was only the report of the near approach of the Moétemid, the Governor-General, with a military force and a train of artillery, which

kept them somewhat in awe. The arrival, likewise, of a few regiments of regular troops, allowed Hajji-Mullah Ahmed (the Deputy of the Moétemid in Luristán,) to seize on six or seven *Tushmals*, or petty chiefs of the Lurs, who were held as pledges for the regular payment of the Government assessments.

We have seen that Luristán-Kúchúk is divided into Pish-Kuh and Pushti-Kúh.

The principal tribes who occupy the former are the following:—

1. The Silasilé, } Lék tribes.
2. The Dilfún, }
3. The Amalah, } Lúr tribes.
4. The Bala Gheriveh, }

Each of these tribes has its subdivisions, which may be seen in the table Major Rawlinson has given of them, in vol. ix. of the Royal Geographical Society's Journal, and which I take the liberty of introducing here, as it is a very satisfactory, interesting, and, I have no doubt, a very correct statement of the inhabitants of Luristán. I find only some

difference in the number of the *Khanehvar*, or families of the several tribes, but readily admit that I cannot vouch for the accuracy of my own figures, as I had not the opportunity of verifying them.

eat Divisions.	Tribes.	Sub-divisions.	Numbers of Families. Of each Tribe.	Numbers of Families. Of each Division.	Residence. Summer.	Residence. Winter.	Assessment of Great Divisions.	Remarks.
Pish-kúh	Dilfún	Kákáwand			.....	Hulilán		The Yéwetiwands and Muminávands supply at present a body of 350 infantry to the Crown.
		Yéwetiwand			Kháwah	Hulilán, Dujáli, and Kúh-Dásht		
		Muminávand						
		Raïsávand	15000		.....	Rúdbár		
		Bijinávand			Hárásim	Chárddawer		
		Chuwári			Kháwah	Terhán		
	Silásilé	Hasanávand			Alishter ..... and Kháwah	Joïdar ..... Sëimarrah ..... Pushti-kúh		
		Kuliwand	15000					
		Yusufávand						
	Bálá Giriwá	Reshnuh			Táf near Khorremabád Abistán			
		Sáki						
		Papi	6000	38000	Sar Kúrú	Kir-a'b, & Plain of Lúr	40000	The distribution of this sum of 40,000 tomans varies yearly, and it is impossible, therefore, to give the details. The 'Amalah tribe, however, who are offsets of all the other tribes, and were employed by the former Wális as their immediate servants, are very lightly charged, the cultivation of the Crown lands being accounted in lieu of taxation.
		Dirikávand			Kúhi-Haftad-Pehlú ..	Kerki, Mángerrah, and Plain of Rezá		
	'Amalah	Kushki			These tribes are Dih Nishins, who cultivate the Khálisah, or Crown lands, at Khorremabád, Sëimarrah, Terhán, and Kúh-Dásht. They do not migrate at all.			
		Ziwahdár						
		Umráí						
		Mirákhúr						
		Kátirji	2000					
		Gholám						
		Mo'-timid						
		Rúkrúk						
		Zulah						
Pushti-kúh	Faïli	Kúrd			Yaïlaks of the range of Kébir-kúh, both on the north-east and south-west faces ..	Sirwán, Jistán, Bádráï, and Plains of A'bladání	15000	The Wáli of Pushti-kúh has the sole direction of his own revenues, and claims to account personally with the Kirmánsháh Government for the assessment of his district.
		Shanhún						
		Mehaki	12000	12000				
		Chahár Sitún						
		Dináriwand						
Dependencies	Bájilán	Dálwand	900	2000	Hurú	Plains of Súsand beyond the Kherkheh to Deh-Lurán	2000	These tribes are refugees of the last century, from the vicinity of Mósul. They are lightly taxed, having to furnish a body of 1,200 horse to the Crown.
		Sagwand*	1100					
	Baïránawand	'Aliwand	1500	2500				
		Dushiwand	1000					
	Hulilani	O'smánávand		500	Hills adjoining Hulilán	Plains of Hulilán	500	These tribes are now usually included in Kirmánsháh. They furnish 500 infantry.
		Jaláláwand		500				
		Dáïwand		200				
				100				
					1500			

The *Silasilé* and *Dilfuns*, who belong to the *Lek* race, amount to about 30,000 *khanehvar*, or families, of which the latter constitute the greater half, although the former are reckoned the more powerful of the two; probably also the more unmanageable.

The *'Amalah* were formerly very numerous, but have been much reduced since Aga Muhammed-Khan, the founder of the present Kajar dynasty, transplanted them into Fars. After his death, it is true, the greater part returned, but their force was broken.* They occupy chiefly the villages surrounding Khorremabád, at Kúh-dasht, Rudbar, &c. As they lead a sedentary life, they are, more than the others, under the immediate sway of the Persian authorities, and are, therefore, looked down upon with contempt by their more independent neighbours. An old Silasilé Iliyat sneeringly observed to me, that the *'Amalahs* are *jabr-perest*

* I found a portion of the *'Amalah* Iliyats encamped at the foot of Mount Istakhr, in the plain of Persepolis. (See vol. i., chap. v.)

(i.e., worshippers of violence), who always submit tamely to any sort of authority, good or bad; whereas the other Lur tribes cannot easily brook oppression. Their number is held to be between 2,000 and 3,000 families, but it appears to us rather underrated.

The *Bálá-Gheriveh*, although not strong in a numerical point of view, as they do not exceed 4,000 families, are reckoned a very troublesome tribe.

The *'Amalah* and the *Bálá-Gheriveh* belong to the great division of the Lur family.

The *Pusht-i-Kúh* tribes, who bear the name of *Feili*, are less numerous than those of *Pish-Kúh*; Major Rawlinson estimates them at 12,000 families. They consist of Kurds, Dinarvend, Shuhón, Kalhúr, Badraï, Mâki.

Independently of the tribes mentioned in Pish and Pushti-kúh, there live in the plains of *Huru*, between Búrújírd and Khorremabád, the *Bajiláns** and the *Beiranevend*, who belong to the *Lek* family.

* The *Bajilán* I met at Zohàb, are, I believe, of Turkish extraction, and profess the Sunni faith.

The taxation of Luristán, in 1837, was fixed at 60,000 tomans, but since that period it has been raised to 80,000, out of which Pushti-kúh is assessed at 20,000, and Pish-kúh at 60,000. The inhabitants complain that they are over-charged, and their complaints are, perhaps, not ill-founded, for, independently of the Crown taxes, the Governor and their own Túshmals,* or petty Chiefs, oppress them whenever they can do so with impunity, and it is, therefore, not to be wondered at, that the Lurs showed such a strong spirit of opposition, whenever they feel themselves in a situation to resist.

Produce of the country.—Excepting the vicinity of Khorremabád, Kúh-dasht, Húrú, and a few other places, the land in Luristán is not much cultivated, as the inhabitants lead,

* *Tushmál* appears a stray word from the Mogúl language, and was probably introduced at the conquest of Luristán by the Mogúls, as, to my knowledge, it is not used in any other part of Persia, having for its equivalent the words *kedkhúda*, *sheikh*, *rish-i-sefid*, and *ak-sakal*, according to the language spoken by the tribe by whom these terms are respectively employed.

for the most part, a pastoral life, and subsist chiefly on the produce of their flocks. The country furnishes the bazaars of Búrújírd, Nehavend, Hamadán, and Kermanshah, with mutton, cheese, and butter, from their numerous flocks, and with a large quantity of charcoal, which is prepared in the woody parts of Luristán, and transported on the backs of oxen and donkeys. The Lurs likewise derive a considerable income from their breed of mules, which are known all over Persia, although those of Shúshter and Dizfúl are preferred to them. The Iliyat women are very skilful in the manufacture of carpets from the wool of their flocks, and of felt coverings for horses. They also manufacture the coarse stuff with which they cover their black tents, and which consists of goats' hair; the same is made into bags, and used by the muleteers of Persia for transporting goods all over the country; and the Lurs themselves make use of them for carrying their charcoal to market.

The forests of Luristán, as well as those of

the Bakhtiyari, produce wild cherry-trees, which are cut for chúbúks, or pipe-tubes, and exported to Bagdad and other parts of Turkey; the interior of Persia is likewise supplied with them. Otter-skins, and the bladder of the animal, form likewise an article of trade.

Character.—The Lurs, (or Luristáni as they are sometimes called,*) like their Bakhtiyar neighbours, are greatly addicted to plunder, but in a less open manner than the latter; nor do they go out in such strong bodies. They likewise differ in the mode of attack, as they generally perform their assaults on foot; whilst the Bakhtiyari proceed on their forays on horseback.

In consequence of this it is reckoned very unsafe to travel in Luristán, perhaps more so than in any other part of Persia. Such, I repeat, is the received opinion. However, as

* The inhabitants of Kermanshah give them this latter appellation, in the same way as they call the natives of Persian Kurdistán or *Ardelán*, *Kurdistáni*, reserving the word *Kurd* to the tribes of that race who inhabit their province.

far as I am concerned, I must do the Luristáni the justice to say, that I have no reason to complain of them, for although I never had more than three or four men with me, I never was molested by any of their tribes; on the contrary, wherever I went I met with hospitality. It is true that I passed through the country at a propitious moment, when the Governor-in-Chief was expected; and the inhabitants might therefore have felt reluctant to commit themselves by outrageously assaulting an European traveller, although this would be allowing too great foresight and caution for such wild unruly tribes, who usually act on the impulse of the moment.

On my route to Kermanshah in 1837, travelling with few attendants, I was warned not to remain out late, as the Luristáni, on their return to their mountains from Hamadán and Nehavend, where they carry charcoal, waylay travellers, and, in an unguarded moment, assault them with their massive clubs.

After passing Asadabad in the dusk of the

evening, we overtook a party of that description, who requested us to slacken our pace, and allow them to join us, as the country (they observed) was unsafe; but my guide, as we passed them at a brisk trot, counselled me not to heed their prayer, as they were just the sort of persons against whom we had to be most on our guard. They oftener, however, lie in ambush near the road in some narrow defile, and, before you are aware of their presence, or prepared to resist, make a spring upon you like beasts of prey.

Religion and Customs.—I was too short a time among the Lurs to gather any accurate information concerning their religious tenets; but in general they appeared to be in a great measure ignorant of, and sufficiently indifferent to, the doctrines established by the Arabian Prophet, whose religion they outwardly profess, being the sectarians of 'Ali. In respect to their customs and habits, the Lurs resemble the generality of the Iliyat tribes of Persia, who lead a pastoral life, attending to their flocks, and

changing their places of encampment according to the seasons.

As the Lurs seldom see Europeans among them, I found them very inquisitive, even to rudeness, and much less shy than the inhabitants of villages, but always ready to oblige and accommodate the traveller, whom chance might lead into their encampment. Indeed, notwithstanding the bad character they bear as being notorious thieves and highwaymen, I shall always remember with a feeling of gratitude the hospitality with which they used to welcome me to their hearth; a feature too much effaced in Europe by the boasted polish of civilization.

Often on approaching an Iliyat encampment you are met by the women of the tribe, who burn aromatic herbs in honour of the stranger guest, and as a token that you are welcome to their hearth. Mr. Rich observed a similar practice among the Chaldeans in Kurdistán.*

* "At the village of Teliskof," says the author, "inhabited by Caldeans in Kurdistán, we were met at a mile from

This custom must be very ancient, for we find Ferdausi alluding to it in his description of the early heroic ages of Iran.

We read the passage in question in the narrative of the journey of the three sons of Feridan, King of Iran, when they went to choose wives for themselves among their Arab neighbours.

" Lorsque," says M. Mohl, the French translator of the Shah-Nameh, or Book of Kings, " les trois princes entrerent dans le Yemen, tous les habitans, hommes et femmes sortirent, tous verserent sur eux de l'ambre et du safran, tous melèrent le vin et le musc," &c. (Ferdaussi-Shah-Nameh-Feridoun, 185.)

---

the village by the Kiahya, and an old woman wanted to burn incense before me, but my horse would admit of no such familiarity." (Narrative of a Residence in Kurdistan, &c. vol. ii., chap. vi., p. 101.)

CHAPTER XXX.

Arrival at Búrújírd.—Theological controversy.—Ramazán fast.—Description of the province of Búrújírd.—Revenue.—Manufactures of the town.—District of Túsúrkán.—Khozrov-Mirza, the blinded Prince.—Various routes to Teherán.—Departure from Búrújírd.—Hissar.—Description of Kézos.—Shehr-nó, or Sultanabád.—Feraghán.—Birth-place of the late Kaimacan.—Some account of the life of this Minister.—Mountainous country of Mahalat.—Aga-Khan, Chief of the Izmaeli sect.—The Helej of Kúm.—Opinions of the Persians concerning this people.—Saliyan.—Kúm.—Arrival at Teherán.—Summary of the distances between the principal places visited by the author.—Conclusion.

I ALIGHTED at the house of the ruler of Búrújírd, placed over the town and province by Behmén-Mirza, second brother of the Shah, and who usually resides at Hamadán.

The room was soon crowded by the inquisitive, as was usually the case wherever I arrived, and I had to attend for some time to the theological disputations of the learned com-

pany, who were of different opinions, as to whether Moses had preceded or followed the Patriarch Abraham, and whether David was not prior to both of them. They at length appealed to me, to tell them how it stood in the *Enjil*, or Gospel. I answered, that although the three named personages are often mentioned by the Evangelists, still that the account of their lives was to be sought, not in the New, but in the Old Testament, and took some pains to set them right in respect of the times when Abraham, Moses, and David, appeared on the stage of Biblical history; but with the exception of one individual, who, from the beginning of the contest, differed from the others, and who now acquiesced in the justness of my statements, the rest remained unconvinced, and so we parted for the night.

The modern Persians are as fond as were the Greeks of the Lower Empire of spending their time in theological controversy, and it is astonishing what a number of absurd fables have been mixed up with the simple truths

of the Holy Bible, and, from being sanctioned by the Kúran, are universally accredited in the East.

February 23.—Although the morning was far advanced when I got up, I found no one moving in the house. I waited some time longer in expectation of breakfast, but in vain; and at last learned from my attendants, that it being the first day of Ramazán, all were still asleep, and that there was no fire in the kitchen.

The Ramazán, or Mussulman Lent, lasts a whole month; and as the Persians are forbidden to eat until the appearance of the first star after sunset, they contrive to shorten the day by prolonging their sleep in the morning. Very little public business is performed during the time the Ramazán lasts; and the Persians, who are in general inclined to saunter away their time in idleness, are glad to have this excuse for doing nothing. Towards the close of the day they often become even disagreeable. For such as are accustomed to the chúbúk and

the kaliyán (the ordinary and the water-pipe), the privation is doubly felt, as smoking is likewise forbidden; and I have often heard the Persians acknowledge that they can support with greater ease the want of food and drink than the deprivation of the luxury of smoking in the course of the day—a proof that habit, when long indulged in, becomes for a time more imperious than the cravings of nature.

Some of the most notorious smokers, and, such as are reckoned freethinkers among them, contend that the pipe was never forbidden by their Prophet, for the best of all possible reasons, because the use of tobacco was not yet known at the time; but for fear of scandalizing the more rigid observers of the law, and of letting loose against them the Mullahs, they cunningly resort to the house of some European friend, where they taste of the forbidden fruit, rendered so much the sweeter from the circumstance of its being enjoyed by stealth.

It is amusing to see the Persians at the close of the evening with their kaliyáns in hand,

waiting, with the tube directed towards the mouth, in panting expectation for the signal-gun, which allows them to break their fast, and then inhaling with glee the fumes of the narcotic plant. The women are in this respect not more backward than the men.

The night is often spent in carousing until the first dawn, when another signal-gun informs the followers of the Arab Prophet that the fast is to re-commence, at the sound of which, after some prayers, they repair to sleep.

Búrújírd, lying out of the line of the high road between the capital and the principal cities of the kingdom, is seldom visited by European travellers; it may, therefore not be superfluous if I give a brief account of it.

Together with the provinces of Meloïr and Hamadán (Kalemró), it falls under the jurisdiction of Behmen-Mirza,* the second brother of the reigning Shah.

* Since my visit to Búrújírd, Behmen-Mirza has been appointed to the government of Aderbeiján, on the demise of his younger brother, Kahraman-Mirza, and the provinces

The province of Búrújírd (often named Urúghird*) is bounded on the north-west by Meloïr and Nehávend, and extends along the northern skirts of the great chain in a south-east direction. The districts which belong to it have been partly noticed in our description of the Bakhtiyari tribes. They are:—

Silahúr, Sárlek, Ashnahúr, Bárbúrúd and Jopélag; touching, on the south-eastern extremity, the mahál or district of Fereidán, which belongs to Isfahán. The secondary range, which runs parallel with the great

---

above-mentioned have separately fallen under the administration of other Chiefs, much to the regret of the inhabitants, who were particularly well treated by that just and upright prince.

* It appears, by what we read in *Sanson*, who was a Catholic missionary in Persia during the reign of Solyman-Shah (1683), that Búrújírd, or, as the author calls it, *Ourigued*, was formerly under the jurisdiction of the Vali of Luristán-Kúchúk, who resided at *Kourmabat* (Khorrem-abád). (See Voyages ou Relation de l'Etat Présent du Royaume de Perse, p. 45.)

chain, divides these districts on the north from those of Kezos and Kemereh. They are mostly occupied by the Bakhtiyari tribes, of whom many are settled in villages. The number of villages, great and small, in the province of Búrújírd, is 386, and the yearly income derived from them by the Crown, together with the town taxes, amounts to 50,304 tomans (about 25,000*l.*) in cash, and 3,832 harvars in grain, of which one-half is barley, and the other wheat. A harvar of barley is usually estimated at one toman by the Crown; a harvar of wheat at two tomans. Reducing, therefore, the assessed quantity of grain into cash, we obtain the sum of 5,748 tomans, which, added to the 50,304 tomans, raise the annual amount of the taxation of Búrújírd to 56,052 tomans.

The town of Búrújírd is renowned for its manufacture of printed chintzes, which although inferior in quality to those of Isfahán, are nevertheless much in request all over Persia, and find their way into the Mussulman pro-

vinces of the Russian empire. For chintzes of superior quality, the manufacturers prefer the foreign white calico, imported from Europe by way of Constantinople, Trebizond, and Tabriz; for those of inferior quality, they use cotton stuffs from their own looms. The latter likewise consists of two sorts; the better sort of cloth, called *kadek*, is chiefly prepared at Isfahán, and resembles our nankeen; the inferior sort, named *kerbas* and *tafti*, is woven in all parts of the country. The chintzes, printed on European calicoes, are known in the market by the name of *kalemkár*, whilst those of their own cotton cloths are called *chitt*.

The dyes used by the manufacturers are chiefly the production of their own country, partly imported from abroad. A red dye, for which there is a great demand, although it is not of a bright nor clear colour, is produced from the root of a plant which grows wild in the fields. The natives call it *rengi rúnos*. One mán Búrújirdi (or three máni Ta-

brizi), equal to twenty-four pounds of this root, is worth five shillings. The blue dye mostly in use is the *nil-reng*, or indigo, brought from Shúshter, Kerman, and India. The *yellow* dye is obtained from the rind of the pomegranate; the *green* from the same, mixed with indigo. *Cochineal*, called *kirmiz* by the natives, is imported into the country by means of the Russian trade.

Búrújírd has fifty establishments for printing cotton stuffs, which are all in the hands of private individuals, forming a separate corporation. The yearly revenue of the crown from these manufactures is 2,000 tomans, paid by the person who farms it of Government, whereas the manufacturers satisfy him in kind, by paying one piece of cloth out of every sixty pieces.

The size of the pieces depends much on the use for which they are destined. Table-cloths, or *Sufreh*, spread on the carpets during meals are broader and longer than such as are used for kneeling upon during the *namáz*, or prayers. The *derre-perdeh*, or curtains hung before doors, require a particular size and pattern. The stuffs

for *arhalúks*, or light under dress of the men and women, differ, likewise, both in the design and size of the cloth.

At Búrújírd, as at Isfahán, they print cotton stuffs with a hand stamp cut out in wood.

A considerable supply of the cotton used at Búrújírd is grown in the ninety-four villages of the rich district of *Túsúrkán*, which lies between Búrújírd, Nehávend, Kengover, Assadabád, Hamadán and Meloïr. It is to this district that the two unfortunate princes, Khozrow-Mirza, and Jehangir-Mirza, (who were blinded at the commencement of the present reign for their political intrigues,) have been exiled with their families, and receive out of the revenue of Túsúrkán 6,300 tomans, (3,150*l.*) for their yearly maintenance.

However culpable they may have been, (and unfortunately positive evidence admits of no doubt as to their having been guilty of high treason,) still the mode of punishment inflicted on them is so horrible, so revolting to humanity, that we forget the crime to commiserate the fate

of the victims. According to our European notions, we believe that no punishment can equal the loss of sight; death itself seems less frightful. The natives of the East have very different notions on the subject. Is it that the reflection that none can with confidence reckon themselves beyond the reach of a similar danger that renders them at last callous to the thought? or is it that men in the East are prone to a more contemplative life than our restless activity will allow us to enjoy, and can therefore dispense more easily than we can with the blessings of sight? I know not, but so much I may venture to say, that the Persians can speak coolly on this subject; that they reckon the loss of their eyes a much lesser evil than that of life; and when deprived of sight, soon become reconciled to their fate.

At Shiráz I met with a Persian nobleman, who, notwithstanding that he had been blinded by the former ruler of Fars for his fidelity to the father of the reigning Shah, was named

Governor of a district, and administered it in person.

I learned, likewise, from one of the frontier Chiefs of Asterábád, that the Turkomán whose father had murdered the father of Fet'h-Ali-Shah, although deprived of his sight by that Sovereign, and then turned into the desert, still continued as he had done before, to lead his countrymen on plundering expeditions into Persia.

These two instances are certainly not brought forward as illustrations of a contemplative life; but they serve to show that, even thus situated, men are not debarred from pursuing an active life, and are not always so helpless as might be supposed.

Khozrow-Mirza himself, after remaining a few years at Túsúrkán under *surveillance*, made all at once his appearance at the gates of Teherán, to the no small surprise of the Shah and his Ministers. He had come all that distance, conducted and accompanied by one trusty servant, to lodge a complaint before

Muhammed Shah against certain collectors at Túsúrkán, who were in the habit of appropriating to themselves the revenues of several villages, which had been allotted for the support of the fugitive princes. The Shah had the case investigated, the Prince righted, and severe orders given that similar malversations should not happen in future. The King extended so far his solicitude towards the poor blind Prince, as to grant his ready concurrence to the marriage of Khozrow-Mirza with a cousin of his, a Kajar Princess, on whom his Majesty bestowed a handsome dowry.

The stoppage we met with at Búrújírd, in consequence of the drowsy propensities of my host and his servants, was the cause that we could not arrive in time at the station, and were overtaken by the night. As none of our party seemed well acquainted with the country, we soon lost our way. After much wandering in the dark, however, we were at length fortunate enough to come to the village of Hissar, where we passed the night.

Three roads lead from Búrújírd to Teherán. The one through Hamadán I declined on account of the distance, and because I had already traversed it the preceding year. The next has the following stations:—

		Farsangs.
From Búrújírd	to Hissar . . .	6
	to Shehr-nó . . .	6
	to Megán . . .	6
	to Savéh . . .	6
	to Zarrend . . .	6
	to Robaút-Kerim .	6
	to Teherán . . .	6
	Total . .	42

Along this road, although the shortest of the three, no post is established; I therefore chose the third, namely, by way of the town of Kúm, the most easterly road, passing by the following stages:—

		Farsangs.
From Búrújírd	to Hissar . .	6
	to Shehr-nó . .	6

	Farsangs.
From Búrújírd to Ibrahim-abad .	6
to Roghird . .	5
to Kúm . . .	8
to Teherán . . .	20
Total . .	51

The first part of the second day's march was over a ground I had already trodden in the summer of the preceding year, when crossing the country from Isfahán to Hamadán, by way of Búrújírd. I was once more in the rich district of Kezos, which forms, in all probability, part of the ancient Parætacena which belonged to Media. It is now under the jurisdiction of Shehr-nó, or Sultanabád, at which place I arrived on the second day, after leaving Búrújírd in a north-eastern direction.

Kezos is bounded on the west and south by the possessions of Búrújírd, namely, the high hilly country of Seribénd on the west, the valleys of Silahúr, Sarovend, Búrbúrúd, and Jopelág, on the south, and to the south-east, Kemereh, which is,

likewise, at present a dependency of Búrújírd. To the north and east Kezos is bounded by the district of Charró, and the immediate dependencies of Shehr-nó.

The chain of Rosvend, running parallel to the Alvend, divides Kezos into two parts; this range of rugged and precipitous mountains presents in several places considerable depressions, allowing an easy passage through them.

Kezos is divided into four búlúks: Sédeh, Karkeriz, Astúneh, and Fer, separated from each other by mountain ridges.

As I have limited the maps in illustration of my journey to the southern side of the great chain, it will, perhaps, be as well to abstain from entering into more minute details, and reserve the description of this part of Persia, little known as yet, to a future period, when I hope to give an account of the provinces lying on the northern skirts of the Alvend chain, from Isfahán up to Hamadán, serving as a counterpart to the countries I have endeavoured to delineate

in these volumes, lying to the south of the same great chain.

The town of Shehr-nó is situated in a plain, after the traveller has emerged from a valley with three villages, to which the town itself owes part of its population.

It is a modern town, and was founded by the father of the Sepehdár,* who was in great favour with the late Fet'h-Ali-Shah. In order to be more secure from the incursions of the Bakhtiyari, he built this city, surrounded it with a high wall, and gave it the name of Sultanabád. It is likewise known by the name of Shehr-nó, or the new city.

A number of families, from the three neighbouring villages, were removed into the town; people from other quarters also sought refuge in its walls, it being a place of greater security than the open country, at that time exposed to the plundering incursions of the mountaineers;

* *Sepehdár* was a title usually conferred on one of the grandees at the Court of the Shah, but has now lost its importance. The Indian word *Sepoy*, belongs to the same root.

and thus Shehr-nó became peopled. At present it is the seat of local government, holding under its jurisdiction the districts of Kezos, Charró, Feraghán, Mahalát, and the country inhabited by the Heléj of Kúm and Savéh.*

The Sepehdár, during the reign of the old King, was at the head of 10,000 men, which he was obliged to bring into the field whenever the Shah might require their aid.

This part of the country is now under the control of Khan-Baba-Khan, a kinsman of the Prime Minister, and married to a sister of the reigning Shah.

On leaving Shehr-nó, I travelled over an even plain, having to my left the district of Feraghán, celebrated in Persia for the fine large carpets that are manufactured in its numerous villages. It is likewise reckoned the nursery of the Persian *Mirzas*, or the civil employés in every department of the State, into whose hands Persia is at present fallen.

Feraghán boasts, above all, of being the

* See note at the end of the chapter.

birth-place of the late *Kaï-macan*, a man of great intellectual powers, who, to the qualities of a first-rate statesman, added the talents of a poet. For many successive years he distinguished himself in the service of 'Abbas Mirza, the father of the reigning Shah; and although at times he fell under the displeasure of that Prince, his abilities were such that they always paved the way for his return to favour. The means he employed to gain his end were as original as they were daring, considering the atmosphere in which he breathed.

He usually spent the intervals of his disgrace in writing the most bitter satires against his former master and his administration; which, spreading abroad, gained for the author much popularity, whilst they served to discredit the character of the Prince; and, as the heir presumptive had many competitors to the throne of his father, the tenure by which he held power rested as much on public opinion as on the favour of Fet'h-Ali-Shah, and 'Abbas

Mirza, therefore, usually found it expedient to stop the mouth of his ex-Minister by re-admitting him to his councils.

In later years, the Kaïmacan played the most prominent part at the accession of Muhammed Shah to the throne; but his immoderate ambition and overbearing behaviour, in respect of the Shah and the other members of the Royal family, hastened his downfall, and terminated the eventful career of his life in a tragical manner,—by strangulation.

On my right hand, to the east, was the mountainous district of Mahalat, where a remnant of the Ismaeli sect, the descendants of the followers of Hasán-Sabáh, or Sheikh-Jabal (the old man of the mountain), are said still to exist. It is currently believed that their Chief, Aga-Khan, is likewise looked upon by the Ismaeli sectarians of India as their head, and considerable donations in money are made over to him yearly by them as a mark of their allegiance.

This individual, on being appointed, a few

years ago, to the Government of Kerman, rebelled against the Shah, and, when he could no longer resist the forces sent against him, retired to the strong place of *Bomm*, on the confines of Belúchistán, rallying around him a strong party of his sectarian followers.

Continuing my progress in a north-eastern direction, I next entered the territory of the *Helej of Kúm*, so called, to distinguish them from the *Helej of Savéh*. This tribe is of Turkish origin; at least Turkish is the language spoken by them. They have not the reputation of being very bright, and the Persians, who pride themselves on their ready wit, their polite and easy manners, tax the Helej with being very uncouth and heavy. The low estimate they form of their mental and social capabilities, is best exemplified by the short though significant sentence with which the name of Helej is associated. The Persians say in common parlance, *Har*, *Hirs*, *Helej*—meaning a donkey, a bear, and a Helej.

By what I saw of this people, I found no

particular reason why this illiberal judgment should fall so heavily on the Helej; it has only left on my mind the impression, that men often indulge in wit at the expense of truth.*

On approaching Kúm, the country becomes once more hilly, the ground void of vegetation, because deprived of water, and the mountains appear barren and dreary. At *Salian*, only about five farsangs before reaching Kúm, there is a source of brackish water, which supplies the wants of the few families who reside at that place, and serves to irrigate the melon-fields, and some gardens with pomegranate-trees, and the vine grown on beds.

From Kúm I travelled over the same ground

* My friend, Baron Tornau, who was thrown amid the Helej of Saveh, at the critical period which followed after the death of Fet'h-Ali-Shah, when all the Nomadic tribes of the interior were either in a state of fermentation or actual warfare, has collected curious and highly-interesting materials concerning that people. I am confident that his friends, as well as the enlightened public, would feel grateful to him, if he were to favour them with an insight into the customs and manners of the inhabitants of Helejistán.

by which I had commenced my journey, and arrived at Teherán on the 28th of February, 1841, after an absence of sixty-seven days, of which forty-six had been spent in actual travelling, and the remaining twenty-one days either in resting at Isfahán, Persepolis, and Shiráz, and examining the curiosities of those cities and their neighbourhood, or else visiting the country around Behbehán, Mál-Amír, and Dizfúl.

Having thus come to the close of the journey, we may cast a retrospective glance over the trodden ground, and sum up the distances between the different towns visited by the way,—were it merely for the benefit of the future traveller, towards whom our own pilgrimage in distant lands, and wayfaring life during many years, have taught to extend a brotherly feeling.

The distance is reckoned:—

	Farsangs.
From Teherán to Isfahán	58
From Isfahán to Shiráz	73

	Farsangs.
From Shiráz to Behbehán	68
From Behbehán to Shúshter, by the circuitous way of Mál-Amír . . .	50
From Shúshter to Dizfúl	10
From Dizfúl to Khorremabád . . .	50
From Khorremabád to Búrújírd . .	13
From Búrújírd to Shehr-nó	12
From Shehr-nó to Kúm	19
From Kúm to Teherán	20
Total . .	252

Or 1,235, in English miles.

On dividing these 1,235 miles by the number of days of actual travelling, we have twenty-seven English miles, the average distance of each day's ride.

This calculation is not offered here with the view of making a show of hard *riding*; for I am perfectly aware, there is as little *merit* in riding quick as there is in *riding slow*; but this rapid progress through the *country* will be accepted, perhaps, as an *excuse* for the

imperfect, and often superficial, information which is contained in these pages.

NOTE TO CHAPTER XXX.

Page 315. — Marco Polo mentions a singular legend attached to this place, which is thus related by the English translator of his "Travels," in note 156, page 76:—

"In the Italian Epitomes," says Mr. Marsden, "at this place (after chapter ix. of the English version), two chapters which have not been admitted in the other editions, mention is made in the first of a city of Persia named *Saba*, from whence the three *magi* took their departure when they proceeded to adore the infant Christ at Bethlehem, and where they were afterwards buried in magnificent tombs; but that he, Marco, was not able to obtain in that city any satisfactory information on the subject of these three royal personages.

"In the second chapter he is made to state, that at the distance of three days' journey from *Saba* there was a castle named *Kalasata-Perinsta*, signifying the castle of those who worship fire as their divinity," &c.

With respect to the above-mentioned town, the learned translator and commentator of Marco Polo adds, "The name of *Saba*, which is certainly not to be discovered amongst the towns of Persia, may be thought to have a reference to the doctrine of *Sabaïsm*, so nearly connected with those of the Gebrs."

By what precedes and follows in the narrative of the Venetian traveller, we must infer that *Saba* was situated between the towns of *Kazvin* and *Isfahán;* and as the present town of *Savéh* lies in a direct line between those two cities, and is still visited by the caravans that go from Tabriz to Isfahán, without turning out of their way to Teherán, there is little doubt of *Savéh* being identical with *Saba.* In corroboration of the fact, we find in the old French version of Marco Polo's travels, published in the "Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires," &c., vol. i., chap. xxxi., p. 27, that the town in question is actually named *Sava.* "En Persie," it is said there, "*est la cité qui est appelé Sava.*"

It appears that *Savéh* has the honour of being connected with more than one important event in the great book of history; for there exists another tradition concerning it among the Mussulmans of the present day, namely, that at the birth of the Arab Prophet the lake of Savéh was dried up. (See likewise Yakúti, in vol. ii. of the "Notices and Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi," art. 67, *Saava.*)

The word *Kalasata-Perinsta*, which Mr. Marsden very justly observes, can have no other meaning than *Cal'ah Atash-Peristan*, or castle of the fire-worshippers, is more correctly given in the French version of Marco Polo, above alluded to, in which we find *Cala Ata-Peristan* (*ata*, *adar*, or *azr*, signifiying *fire*, in the ancient Parsee language).

OBSERVATIONS

ON

THE MARCH OF TIMUR,

FROM TÓSTER (SHÚSHTER) TO KALÉH SEFID;

AND ON THE

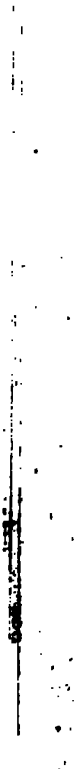
PROBABLE COURSE PURSUED BY

ALEXANDER THE GREAT,

ON HIS EXPEDITION FROM SUSA TO PERSEPOLIS.

BY THE

BARON CLEMENT AUGUSTUS DE BODE.



OBSERVATIONS,

ETC.

UNTIL very recently great uncertainty prevailed as to the geographical features of Khúzistán, or Arabistán (the ancient Susiana), and more especially respecting the system of the rivers which flow through that country, together with those more to the east, which fall into the Persian Gulf. This circumstance has, consequently, thrown more or less obscurity over the different accounts handed down to us by ancient writers concerning the expeditions of Alexander the Great, and other conquerors in the East.

The graphic description of Major Rawlinson's journey from Zoháb to the fastnesses of Mungásht in the Bakhtiyari mountains, together

with the lucid map in illustration of his narrative, published in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London,* have, in a great measure, dispelled the gloom which hung over those regions of Persia, and furnished the means of comprehending more distinctly the accounts of the ancient writers who treat on these matters.

Having lately gone over the same ground, I felt half inclined, also, to venture upon giving a few observations on the comparative geography of the rivers in the neighbourhood of the ruins of *Shúsh*, as, likewise, on the probable site of the ancient city of *Susa;* but as so many learned dissertations, have, from time to time, appeared on the subject, and as it was also taken up only a short time ago by Professor Long, and ably handled by him in an article on Khúzistán, published in the "Journal of the

* See Art., "Notes on a March from Zoháb to Khuzistán," in No. ix. of the "Royal Geographical Society's Journal" of 1839, part i., page 26.

Royal Geographical Society,"* I thought it would be an act of supererogation in me to dwell any longer on this topic, and the more so, as I perfectly concur in the view that learned gentleman has taken as regards the locality of Susa, the names of the different rivers, and, in particular, as to the identity of the *Eulæus* with the present *Shapúr*, or *Shóver* river. This last river has been, it is well known, the main stumbling-block to all the commentators who have tried to reconcile the apparent, and, at times, real contradictions we meet with in ancient writers, on the campaigns of Alexander and his officers, respecting the geography of this country. But if this portion of Susiana, up to Shúshter, has become less obscure, I fear the regions east of the *Kúren* river are still immersed in darkness; and as I have been fortunate enough to succeed in my endeavours to skirt the southern face of the Zagros mountains, beginning from Kázerún, through Naubenján (now in ruins), Faliyán, Behbehán, Shúshter, Dizfúl, and

* See vol. iii., p. 257.

Khorremabád, and then crossing over that lofty chain to Búrújírd, I may, perhaps, be permitted to make a few observations concerning the course of several rivers which take their rise in the snowy range of these mountains; connecting them, as far as my limited abilities will allow, with the march of Amír Timúr from Shúshter to Kal'eh Sefíd. A closer acquaintance with the country will also enable us to trace, with some degree of probability, the route followed by Alexander on his march from Susa to Persepolis.

Few of the ancient geographers whose works have been handed down to us, have written satisfactorily on this part of Asia. Nearchus, the commander of Alexander's fleet, has given little more than a bare catalogue of the rivers which flow into the Persian Gulf, as cited in Arrian's Periplus. Ptolemy and Pliny are more or less obscure on this subject, and it may be questioned whether there exist any records of Hephestion's march from Caramania to Susa, on Alexander's return from India.

The Oriental writers throw occasionally some

glimpses of light on that benighted country, but unfortunately they only serve, in the words of Milton,

"To make darkness visible,"

since the gleam of light they cast is more apt to lead astray, than to guide one in the right path.

Owing to this scanty stock of information, our modern maps are as yet very defective and incorrect; few travellers having penetrated sufficiently far into the interior on account of the insecure state of the country. The only itinerary we possess of an European traveller from Shúshter to Shiráz, through Behbehán, is that of Major-General M'Donald Kinneir, and contrary to his usual exactness, this route is very superficial, and far from being correct.*

Sherefú-d-din 'Ali, of Yezd, the historian of Amir Timúr, is the only one to my knowledge who speaks with any precision of the different streams that were crossed by the

* "Memoir of a Map of Persia," by M'Donnald Kinneir, p. 456.

army of the Tátár Chief on his way from Shúshter to Kal'eh-Sefid. It will be, therefore, my province to determine in the present inquiry, as far as lies in my power, the relative position of the rivers mentioned by Sheréfu-d-din, and to show that they are those laid down in the accompanying map of my route; and also to identify some of them with the rivers mentioned by other authors.

However, before we follow up Timúr's route step by step, it will be proper to cite the passage of Sheréfu-d-din, referred to.*

"The 25th of Rabi'ul-Akhir, A.H. 795, (March, A.D. 1393,) Timúr left Shúshter (Tóster), and marched in haste towards Shiráz, &c.

"On the 27th he crossed the river Dudángeh, and in two days more encamped on the banks of the river Shúrú-Khan-Kendeh.

"The 1st of Jumádi-l-avvel he halted at Rám-Hormúz, &c.

* See "Histoire de Timúr-Bec," par Cheref-eddin Ali d'Yezd, traduite par M. Petis de la Croix, vol. ii., p. 183.

" Timúr, after granting an audience to the Atabeg Píri-Mohammed, of Luri Buzurg, mounted his horse about noon, and crossing the river of Rám-Hormúz, encamped on the opposite bank.

" The 2d of the same month his camp was pitched near the river Feï.*

" The 3d, after a night's march from *Jâizan*,† he pitched his tents on the plain of Zahrah.‡

" The 4th, Timur passed Kurdistán, crossed the river Abergun (Abi Arghun), and stopped at Behbehán.

" The 5th, he crossed the river Abi-Shirin, and encamped on the plain of *Lachter*.§

" The 6th, he passed Kejje (Kaj) Havas, and rested near the source of the river Khan-Bédak.

* *Meï*, according to the MSS., No. 851, in the possession of the East India House, consulted by the Rev. Mr. Renouard.

† *Táyizam*, in MSS., No. 851, same authority.

‡ *Zúmrah*, in MSS., No. 851, same authority.

§ *Tuster*, idem.

"The 7th, he encamped at the village Júlálah.

"The 8th, he passed through Basht,* crossed the river of Ab-chaub (Abi sha'b), and encamped at *Mál-Emir-Khal.*†

"The 9th, he crossed the river Cavedan (Khavirán, or Kháván, in the above-mentioned MSS.), where he made enquiries concerning Kal'eh Sefíd, and then marched to Naubenján, where he fixed his quarters.

"The 10th, he mustered his troops for battle, and, having marched from Naubenján, encamped at the foot of Kal'eh Sefíd, one of the strongest fortresses in Asia."

By this account it will be seen that Timúr required nine days to reach Behbehán from Shúshter, a distance of about thirty-six far-

* *Pasht*, in the above-named MSS.

† Mál Amír *Shól*, idem. This latter version is far more probable, as Timúr had entered already on the territory of *Shúlistan*, or the country of the *Shúls*. *Mál-Amír Shúl*, or *Shól*, would mean the estate or property of the Amír of the Shól tribe.

sangs;* and, therefore, each day's march, taken one with another, will be four farsangs, all that an Eastern army, on a long march, can be expected to perform.

From the brief statement Sheréfu-d-dín makes of Timúr's march during the first five days, and the no less short itinerary of Sir John M'Donald Kinneir's "Journey from Shúshter to Rám-Hormúz," it is difficult to arrive at any certainty whether they did or did not follow the same route. But as the English traveller speaks of the country as being barren, and, for the greatest part of the way, destitute of water, I am inclined to suspect that Timur preferred the upper road, as being cooler and better provided with water and grass for the cattle. If that be the case, he must have crossed the *Shúrish-áb*, which may be the *Dúdángheh* mentioned in his journal on the second day's march, which, had it not been for this circumstance, I should have identified

* 36 farsangs = $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles × 36 = 135 miles. (See Sir William Ouseley's "Travels in Persia," vol. i., p. 11.)

with the artificial branch of the Kuren river, or the *Abi-Gargar*, or the eastern side of Shushter, on account of the name of *Dúdán-gheh*.*

The next river, Shúṛúkhan-Kende,† which he crossed two days later, may correspond with the *Abi-Zerd*, if it join the *Jerahi* somewhat lower down than is noted in the map of Major Rawlinson's route through Susiana. Or the *Shúrúkhan-Kende* may represent the river I met

* Perhaps it will not be reckoned superfluous if I mention that a custom exists in Persia of dividing not only fields and villages, but, in some localities, whole districts, into six parts, which are further subdivided into two unequal parts, the one containing four parts, *chehar-dangheh*, and the other two parts, *du-dangheh*. The same rule is observed, also, with water for irrigating the fields, it being intimately connected with the division of landed property.

As the main branch of the Kuren, flowing on the west side of Shúshter, contains a greater volume of water than the artificial stream on the east side of that city, hence it had the appellation of *chehar-dangheh;* from which it might be inferred that the latter, or the Abi-Gargar, ought to represent the *du-dangheh*.

† Sir John M'Donald is mistaken in placing this river to the east of Rám-Hormúz. See his map of Persia.

with in the plain of Khari-Shútur-Zer, running in a direction from north to south, although it appeared an insignificant stream, covered with rushes; but as I did not go by the lower road I can only speak by conjecture. One thing, however, is positive, that there are mountain-streams to the west of Rám-Hormuz.

The first of Jumádi-l-Avvel, Timúr left the town of *Rám-Hormúz*, or *Rúmiz*, as it is now styled, and encamped on the opposite shore of the river Rám-Hormuz.

That the *Abi-Tezeng*, or *Alaï*, is the representative of this river, I have the authority of the present Chief of Rúmiz, Abdullah-Khan, in whose company I travelled part of the way from the Bakhtiyari camp at Mál-Amír to the ruins of Haleghun, where we parted, my course leading to the west and his to the south-east to Kal'eh-Tul, from thence to Manjanik, and down the valley of the Tezeng, which was to bring him to Rúmiz. The names of these places are laid down in my itinerary map of Luristán-Buzúrg. Mr. Layard, if I am not mistaken,

pursued the same course over Rám-Hormúz and up the valley of the Tezeng on his return to Kal'eh-Tul from the island of *Kherk*, in the Persian Gulf.

The second day brought Timur to the banks of the river *Fëi*, or *Meï*, which is the *Alár*, or *Abi-Talkh* (so called on account of the brackish taste of its water), it being the next river to the east of *Abi-Tezeng*, or the *Alaï* river. The *Alár* is a considerable stream, enclosed between high banks, and flowing through the plain of *Petek*. Both these rivers take their rise beyond the Mungasht mountains.*

* I must not, however, omit to mention the following circumstance, which might induce one to identify the river Alaï, or Tezeng, with the *Mei* of Shérefú-d-Dín, and not the *Alár*, or *Abi-Talkh* :—There is a large village on the right bank of the Tezeng or Alaï, one farsang to the west of *Sarila*, which bears the name of *Mei-Dovid*, or *Mei-Dovúd*. Now there are several places which go by the name of *Davúd* (corresponding in Persian with *David*); *Méi* may have been prefixed to it, in order to distinguish it from the rest; just as we are in the habit of saying *Frankfurt-on-the-Oder*, and *Frankfurt-on-the-Maine*. This is nothing more, however, than a simple conjecture, to

I have no other observation to make on the course pursued the third day, than that the *Jáozan*, mentioned in Shérefú-d-dín, is the *Jáozún*, marked in the itinerary I obtained at Behbehán (eight farsangs distant from that town), the difference being only the Shirázi pronunciation of the same word. In Kinneir's route it is styled *Jarsoon*.

On the 4th, Timúr passed by Kurdistán, crossed the river *Abergún*, and encamped at Behbehán.

The *Abergún*, or *Abi-Arghún* (river of Arghún), is the Kurdistán river of the present day, and the *Táb* of the Arab writers. I crossed it on leaving Behbehán one farsang (three miles and three-quarters) to the north-

---

which I shall add another. *Meh*, according to Sir William Ouseley, (Vol. i., page 116, of his "Travels in Various Countries of the East") meant *great* or *mighty*, in the ancient language of the country; *Méi-Davúd*, or *Meh-Davúd*, may therefore be equivalent to the *Great David*; as there happens in the same country the Great and the Little Daniel.

west, and not far from the village of *Kurdistán*, from whence the stream probably borrows its name, having a ford there. The village is on the right bank of the river.

I shall have to return to the latter presently; let us first conduct the army safe over the *Abi-Shírín*, which Timúr crossed on the 5th, and pitched his tents on the plain of *Lashter*. It will be found that the *Abi-Shírín* corresponds with the *Kheirabad** stream of my Journal, although the former appellation is, I should say, more appropriate, because the waters of this river are fresh (*Abi-Shírín* meaning sweet or fresh water in Persian), while those I had crossed after leaving Shápúr were generally brackish.

Abi-Shírín is a broad and noble stream. It is likewise called the *Hindiyan* river, from the town of *Hindiyan* near its mouth. But there is no connexion between this river and the

* This name is probably derived from the large village of *Kheirabad*, now in ruins on the right bank of the river, close to a ford.

Kurdistán or Táb just mentioned; nor does it form a continuation of the *Abi-Shúr*, which passes near the foot of Kal'eh-Sefid, as is incorrectly represented in most of our modern maps of Persia; an error which, I suspect, must have arisen from Kinneir's Itinerary.

The plains of *Lashter*,* or *Lishter*, retains its name to the present day, and is an extensive meadow, where a part of the numerous studs of the former Fermán Fermá of Fárs† were kept.

There exists much obscurity in respect to the two last-mentioned rivers, occasioned by the superficial and inaccurate account which has been given of them by the few travellers who have penetrated so far into the country. I shall endeavour to clear up the point in as far as I am able, from what has fallen under my notice, and show that the *Táb* and the *Hindiyan*, which are often blended in one, are two

* The Rev. Mr. Renouard finds in one of the MSS. *Sahraï Tuster*, or plain of Tuster.

† The late Husein-'Ali-Mirza, son of Fet'h-Ali Shah.

perfectly distinct rivers, the *Táb* being the *Kurdistán*, or *Jerahi* river, (the Abi-Arghún in Timur's march,) and the *Hindiyan* being no other than the *Kheirabád*, or *Abi-Shirin* river.

Let us first examine what the Eastern geographers have written on the subject.

The Arab writer* whom Sir W. Ouseley has translated, in enumerating the rivers of Fars, says:—

"The rivers of Pars which are navigable for boats are, the *Nehr-Tab*, *Nehr-Shirin*, &c."†

We find in the same author the following:—

"The river *Tab* issues from the mountains of Ispahán near *Burj*, and being joined by another stream from the same quarter at the village of *Mes*, or *Mos*, proceeds to *Arjan*, and passes

* *Khórdadbah*, and not *Ibn-Haukal*, as was at first supposed. (I owe this note to the obliging suggestion of the Rev. Mr. Renouard.)

† See page 84, in Sir W. Ouseley's Translation of Khórdadbah, entitled Ibn-Haukal's Geography.

under the bridge called *Dekan*, and affords water to Pars, and Khuzistán, and Rústái-Zém, and falls into the sea."*

In a previous part of the same work, we read:—

"The eastern boundaries of Khuzistán are the borders of Párs and Spahán. Between the borders of Párs and Spahán there is a certain river called *Nehr-Táb* in the vicinity of *Máhi-Rúyan*, from that the boundary is between *Daurek* and Máhi-Rúyán towards the sea-side."†

We find in M. Jaubert's French translation of "Idrisi's Geography:"—

"La rivière de *Táb* qui sert de limite entre le Koúzistân et le Fárs baigne la partie méridionale de cette dernière province dont toutes les eaux se jettent dans la mer auprès du port de Mâhroûiân non loin du port de Mehdi."‡

In M. Hammer-Purgstall's Persia, translated

* See page 96. † See page 72.

‡ See "Recueil de Voyages et de Memoires par la Société de Géographie," tom. v., page 380.

Persic

deinde inde

adds, that a

not mentio

still it can

description

that he drew

we

Numà, t

mile

takes its

a

difficulty

Descriptio, page 79, quotes the following passage from *Abu-l-Fedâ* :—

" Fluvius *Thâb*, &c. . . . teste Ibn-Haukalo, oritur juxta *Al-Mardj* ex montibus Ispahanis, &c. . . . . His fluvius *Thâb* postquam alium *Masn* dictum in se recepit, ulterius procedens juxta portam *Ardjanis* prætertubitur. Prope Schiniz denique in mare exonerat."

Further on (page 96) the same commentator gives us the passage of Ibn-Haukal himself, extracted from his travels, and which we take the liberty of transcribing before we notice Uylenbrock's comment upon it :—

" Ad fluvios Persidis," says Ibn Haukal, " quod attinet habet bonas aquas Orientes in confiniis Ispahanæ ejusque montibus et apparentes in regione *Al Sardan* postquam transierunt tractum *Al Bordj* sese exonerant in fluvium *Masen* qui itidem extractu Ispahanæ versus illum Sardani procedit. Cunjunguntur prope vicum Masen dictum ; neque desinit aqua fluere uberius quam incolarum necessitates postulant, usque ad portam ad *Radjan* sub ponte *Tsakan ;*

qui pons inter Persidem et Khouzistan exstans paucos sibi pares habet, ita ut, me quidem judice, opere præstantior sit ponte *Cordubæ* et ex laudatissimis Persiæ rebus. Rigat pagum et urbem, deinde incedit in mare prope confina Schiniz."

M. Uylenbrock adds, that although the Arabian traveller does not mention the name of this great river, still it can be no other than the *Thab*, the description of which Abú-l-Feda states, that he drew from Ibn Hankal.

In respect to ***Abi-Shirin***, we find, that according to the Jeham-Numâ, this river is only nine farsangs (thirty-three miles and three-quarters) in length, and takes its rise in the mountains of Dinâr. It is a considerable river, and is crossed with difficulty on horseback.*

In Abú-l-Feda we read:—

"Fluvius *Schirin* oritur e monte Dainowar,

* See "Recueil de Voyages et Mémoires," &c., tom. ii., page 271.

qui est in tractu Bazarnog et pervagatus Persiam incedit in mare apud Gonnabam," &c.*

The Journal of Sherafu-d-din fixes the position of the *Abi-Shirín*, which we have seen is the *Kheirabad* river, in my route. It remains, therefore, to ascertain whether it be likewise identical with the *Hindiyan*. To prove this, we must have recourse to Kinneir, who crossed the Hindiyan river near its mouth, close to the Persian Gulf; though, at the same time, it is essential to observe, that he mistakes it for the *Táb*.

The passage runs thus:—

"Of the rivers of the province (Fars), the *Tab* (ancient Arosis) is the most considerable. It is formed by the junction of two streams within a few miles of the town of Zeitoon. Both these streams take their rise in the recesses of the mountains of Fars, the first at the foot of the high hill of *Kamaran*, and the other near that of *Ardicoone*, twelve far-

* See Busching's "Magazin für Historie et Geographie," tom. iv., page 170.

sangs north-west of Shirauz. (This branch of the *Tab* is evidently the river mentioned by Arrian, in the 'March of Alexander.' It is necessary to cross it twice between the Kela-Sefeed and Shirauz.) It divides Fars from Khuzistan, *and passes through the centre of the town of Endian*, where, when I crossed it in the month of February, it was eighty yards wide and navigable for boats of twenty tons burthen. Nine miles above the town is a ford, and, sixteen below it, the *Tab* falls into the sea. When the river passes Zeitoon, *the waters are perfectly sweet*, but in its course over the hills, towards *Endian* they become corrupted, and at that place are so brackish as hardly to be fit for use."*

In another portion of the same work, the author mentions, that this river lies to the east of the plain of Behbehán.†

Without stopping to refute here, what in our

* See Major-General M'Donald Kinneir's "Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire," page 57.

† Idem., page 72.

humble opinion appears to be an error of the author, who holds this river to be the *Táb*, or his evident mistake in connecting the southern branch of it with the river of Kal'eh-Sefíd, or the *Abi-Shúr*, it is sufficient for our present purpose to point out that his description of the northern branch, laid down in his map of Persia, corresponds with the position of the Abi-Shírín in Sherefú-d-dín and the *Kheirabad* of our Journal.

At Behbehán I was told that the town of *Zeitún* is not more than five farsangs distant from it, and that it is situated on the river *Kheirabad*, as well as *Hindiyan*, from which latter town the river probably derives its appellation of *Hindiyan* in its lower course, the rivers in the East often changing their names according to the places through which they flow. The bare circumstance of its waters becoming brackish, as Kinneir observes, from Zeitun down to the sea, must have induced the natives to designate the *Abi-Shírín* (which means *fresh* or *sweet water*,

by some more appropriate appellation in its lower course.

We have now to examine what river will best correspond with the course which the Arab and Persian writers ascribe to the *Tab*.

Sir John M'Donald Kinneir, in enumerating the rivers of Fars, says:—

"The river *Jerahi* (the ancient Pasitigris?) which, next to the *Tab*, is the largest in Fars, (the author had mentioned before that the Táb formed the boundary between Fars and Khuzistán,) descends from the mountains immediately behind Behbehán, and passes within a few miles of that city, runs through the vale of Ram-Hormuz to Old Dorak, in the country of the Chá'b Sheikh. Here the Arabs have erected a dam, the water of the river is dispersed in various directions, for the purpose of agriculture, having two principal branches, which flow, the one on the outside and the other through the centre of the town of Dorak. Most of the lesser branches ter-

minate, and in fact occasion, the marshes in the vicinity of this town; and of the two principal branches, one enters the *Karoon* above *Sabla*, and the other flows into the sea at *Goban*. The *Jerahi*, in its passage through the valley of Ram-Hormuz is very considerably increased by another river, which flows with great rapidity from the mountains about six miles east of the town of Ram-Hormuz.* This is the river alluded to in the march of Timur, and although its course is short, it contains a great body of water, and is not to be forded after the melting of the snows."†

In a subsequent passage, the same author mentions that the town of Behbehán lies three miles east of the ruins of the ancient city of *Aragian*, which may be seen on the banks of the *Jerahi*.‡

* The Tezeng or Alaï river of my Journal.

† See Kinneir's "Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire," pages 58, 59.

‡ Idem, page 72.

If we now turn to the Arab geographer, translated by Sir William Ouseley,* and to Abu-l-Feda,† in the passages above quoted, we find that it is the *Tab* which passes by *Arjan*, and we glean moreover from the former that the Táb is in the vicinity of *Máhi-Rúyan*, and that from thence the boundary is between *Daurek* and *Mahi-Rúyan* towards the sea.‡

Now, the French traveller, Tavernier, in the table he gives of the longitudes and latitudes of the principal cities of Persia, alludes likewise to *Mehrouyon*, which, he adds, is commonly known by the name of *Behbehán* ("Mehrouyon appelé vulgairement Behbehan").§ There can be no doubt as to *Daurak* being identical with *Dorak*, which is in the country of the Chá'b Arabs.

* See above, page 342.

† See above, page 345.

‡ See above, page 343.

§ Tavernier's "Voyage en Perse," &c., liv. iii. p. 403.

Mr. Stocqueler, who crossed the mountains from Behbehán to Isfahán, gives to the river now under consideration, the name of *Jerahi* in its upper course,* while Major Rawlinson does the same in respect to its lower course, adding, that the Jerahi is formed from the junction of the *Abi-Zerd* with the *Kurdistán* river, in the plain of Ram-Hormuz.†

Mr. Ainsworth, who accompanied Colonel Chesney on his Euphrates expedition, and visited the mouth of the Jerahi, gives a very detailed account of its lower course, which corroborates, in a great measure, what Kinneir had already written on the subject; but as the exploration of that part of the country by Mr. Ainsworth is quite recent and very valuable, I shall quote here the passage of his work which relates to the Jerahi, notwithstanding its length:—

* See Mr. Stocqueler's "Fifteen Months' Pilgrimage through Khúzistán and Persia," &c., vol. i., p. 102.

† "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," vol. ix., p. 79.

"The Jerahi," says the author, "originates from several rivers which flow from the Bakhtiyari mountains. The united streams flow past *Ghuraïbah*, in the longitude of Hawaz, into the territory of the sheikh of Ka'b. Here the waters begin to be drained by numerous canals which take their departure from the right bank; while the main river flows onwards to *Asáyi*, within about eight miles of *Dorak*, or *Felahiyah*, and where the waters from the east sweep round to the south-east. From this convexity six various canals take their departure; the most southerly loses itself in rice-grounds and marshes. The next unites with two other canals, after their waters have been diminished by irrigation, to form the canal of *Dorak*. The others lose themselves in the marshes of the same place, called *Hór Dorák*. The sixth and most northerly divides into two branches, forming seven canals in all. On these various canals are many villages, surrounded by date-trees; the inhabitants cultivating rice and grain, and pasturing cattle.

The *Jerahi* in its continuation, loses itself in marshes; from which part of the waters are said to re-unite, to form the *Lusbah* river, which empties itself into the Gulf.

"The *Dorak* canal, flowing past *Felahiyah*, sends off a canal of irrigation at about a mile from the town, while the main channel, after losing itself partly in marshes, continues its course, as previously mentioned, into the *Karún el 'Amah*, by which it empties itself into the Karún."*

Mr. Otter, a French traveller of the last century, when at Basra, also makes mention of this river, which he calls the *Afitab* (*sun* in Persian), as coming from *Kiouh-Guilan* (the country of the Khogilú). †

To this host of authorities, which tend to establish that the *Jerahi*, the *Kurdistán*, and the *Táb*, are one and the same river, I shall

* See Mr. Ainsworth's "Researches in Assyria, Babylonia, and Chaldæa," 1838, p. 200.

† See Otter's "Voyage en Turquie et en Perse," &c., tom. ii., c. iv., p. 46, Paris edition of 1748.

take the liberty to add a few facts which have fallen under my own notice, and the information which I gathered on the spot respecting this river.

When I visited the ruins of *Arrejân*, scattered on the banks of the Kurdistán, I was told that this river takes its rise at *Serhád-Chenár*, some distance to the north or north-east of Behbehán, in the mountains which separate this district from the province of Isfahán. In its upper course it passes by *Deh-Dasht*, the summer residence of the Governor of Behbehán, eight farsangs from that city. Near Behbehán it is now known as the Kurdistán river, probably from the village of Kurdistán, at which place there is a ford. It then flows into the plain of Ram-Hormúz, to the south of the town of that name, and, lastly, joins the *Kurún* river above the town of Muhammereh, in the country of the Chá'b-Arabs. Its name of *Abi-Arghún* (waters or river of Arghun), in Shérefú-d-din's Journal, may well be accounted for from the circumstance that it flowed by the walls of the

city of Arreján (or Arghún); and it is not unlikely that it continued to be known under the same name long after the city of Arreján had been destroyed.

The fact of Sir John M'Donald Kinneir's omitting to mention that he had crossed the *Jerahi* before he arrived at Behbehán led Professor Long to conclude that he did not cross it; and as Timur had previously pursued the same route, that he likewise had no necessity of crossing the *Jerahi*.* But from what has been stated above, and by reference to the map annexed to vol. i., it is clear that both Timur and Kinneir could not have avoided the *Jerahi* (in other words, the Kurdistán, or Abi-Arghún river) on their march from Shúshter to Persis Proper.

Before we quit this subject it will be interesting to ascertain whether Alexander or any of his generals crossed the same river on their way to Persia, and to determine, if possible,

* See "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," vol. iii., p. 262.

under what name it was known to the ancients; as it is not natural that the historians of that monarch, as well as the geographers who have treated of his expedition, should have left unnoticed, or passed over in silence, so considerable a stream.

We have endeavoured to establish elsewhere* that the plain of Mál-Amír is the site of the ancient city of the Uxians; and as it was there that Alexander, according to his historians, divided his forces, we must likewise take our departure from thence, and follow him along the mountains, while Parmenio with the main army, is marching over the level country.

We must be allowed here to quote our authorities. The passage in Quintus Curtius is the following:—

"Dividing his army, he (Alexander) commanded Parmenio to march through the level country, while he, with the light armed forces, traversed the mountains, which extend in a

* See vol. ii., chap. xviii.

continuous chain to Persis. Having ravaged all this tract, he, on the third day, reached Persis, and on the fifth entered the straits, called *Pylæ Susidæ*."*

In Chaussard's French translation of Arrian the passage runs thus :—

" Alexandre renvoya ensuite en Perse par la *grande route* les bagages, la cavalerie Thessalienne, celle des alliés et des étrangers et les troupes pésamment armées sous la conduite de Parmenion.

" Prenant avec lui l'infanterie Macédonienne, la cavalerie des hétaires, celle des éclaireurs, les agrianiens et les archers, il s'avance rapidement par les montagnes."

The line of communication, or high road for waggons, between Shúshter and Shiráz, is the more southern of the two, and leads, as is now known, by Rám-Hormúz and Behbehán close to Kal'eh Sefíd. This is the road, therefore, which Parmenio must have taken, commencing by Rám-Hormúz, as the nearest spot

* Q. Curtius, translated by Pratt, book v., chap. iii.

on the plain after leaving the town of the Uxians (at Mál-Amír), and subsequently passing through the defile at the foot of Kal'eh Sefíd, which is the site of one of the *Pylæ Persicæ*. Or else, to avoid the difficult passage through the straits of Kal'eh Sefíd, he may have taken a more circuitous route over the *Piri-Zen*, leaving *Kútel-i-Dokhter* to the right; a road which, in my itinerary, I have shown to be practicable even for wheel carriages and artillery.*

But whether Parmenio chose the one or the other route, is not at present the question: it is sufficient to know, that from Rám-Hormúz up to Kal'eh Sefíd, he must have marched over the same ground as Timur and Sir John M'Donald Kinneir, for there is no other practicable road to the south for a great army that I am aware of. He must, therefore, have crossed, as they did, the river Jerahi. In fact, since it has been ascertained that this river takes its rise in the snowy range to the northward of Behbehán, and only joins the Kurén stream

* See chap. ix., page 221.

at the Delta of the Shat-al-Arab by an artificial canal, and the Persian Gulf by its own original bed, consequently flowing in a diagonal line across the whole country from north-east to south-west, it becomes clear that any one travelling to the south of the Zagros chain between Shúshter and Kal'eh Sefid must unavoidably cross it.

It next behoves us to find out the route pursued by Alexander, which his historians themselves say was along the mountains, and therefore, to the north of the road which Parmenio had taken.

Had he been in less haste to arrive at Persepolis, or of a less adventurous spirit, he might have chosen the route known at present by the name of the *Jáddehi Atábeg* (the road of the Luri-Búzúrg Chiefs near Mál-Amír from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries), but which we hold to be far more ancient, being the straight line of communication between Susiana and Media.*

* See chap. xvii., page 40.

In a stratagetical point of view, this course would, perhaps, have been the more advisable, as the enemy opposed to him at Persepolis would in that case have been hemmed in by Alexander in front, issuing from Media,* and by Parmenio in the rear, from the side towards Persis.

It remains, then, to ascertain whether there exists any other road along the mountains between the Jáddehi-Atábeg and the route of Timur. The celebrated German geographer, Professor Ritter, expresses his doubts whether any passage be practicable in this direction, on account of the stupendous range of moun-

* In this point of view, the conjecture of *Bongarsius*, that instead of "*per medium iter*," we ought to read "*per Mediam iter*," is not so void of plausibility as the English translator and commentator of Quintus Curtius, Mr. Peter Pratt, seems to think; although it be necessary to observe, that Alexander, when he consulted the guides, was no longer in the Uxian territory (Mál-Amír), but near the *Susian Straits*, which we reckon to be, as will be seen hereafter, near the town of Arreján. (See the letter C., in the additional notes to Q. Curtius, vol. ii., page 518, by P. Pratt.)

tains which runs from north-west to south-east, and divides the sources of the Zóyende-rud* from those of the *Kurén* and *Jerahi* rivers;† but since my recent excursion from Behbehán to Mál-Amír, it has become evident that there does exist such a route, and from what has fallen from the pen of Quintus Curtius, there appears great probability that it was the very

* *Zóyende*, born, from the verb *Zoïden*, to be born; for the *Zóyende-rúd*, according to the natives, is independent of its source at *Zerdeh-kúh*, formed of many springs, which bubble up to the surface from the bowels of the earth.

† M. C. Ritter says:—"Eine dritte communication ist uns nicht bekannt geworden, auch scheint sie nicht zu existiren, weil zwischen dieser Bergroute und derjenigen die wir früher von der Ebene Merdescht bei Persepolis über Moïn nordwärts als sommer-strasse nach Yezdchast kennen lernten, die gewaltigste Bergmasse des Grenzgebirgszuges im mächtigen Gebirgstock des Kuhi-Zerd sich erhebt, welche bisher ganz unbesucht Clieb, auf welcher die wilden Bachtiari-Stämme hausen von dessen Schneehöhen gegen N. O. die Quellen des Zoyenderud hinab gen Isfahan strömen, wie gegen S. die des Jerahi nach dem Perser Golf und den Kuren zum Delte des Schat-ul-Arab." (See Ritter's Erdkunde iii., Buch. West Asien, Band iii. ii., Abtheilung iv., Abschnitt § 19, page 133.)

same Alexander followed from the Uxian town to the frontiers of Persis.

To render the subject more perspicuous, we must be allowed to refer again to the passage of Curtius before quoted, and comment on it as we go on.

"Dividing the army," says the Roman historian, "Alexander commanded Parmenio to march through the level country, while he, with the light armed forces, traversed in a continuous chain to Persis. Having ravaged all this tract, he, on the third day, reached Persis, and on the fifth entered the straits called *Pylæ Susidæ*."

The road from Mál-Amír to Behbehán leads between the second and third parallel ranges of the Zagros chain, running from north-west to south-east, or, in the words of Alexander's historian, "*the mountains which extend in a continuous chain to Persis.*" This hilly country is intersected by numerous streams, which flow through some pleasant and fertile valleys; such as *Baghi-Malék*, *Bazi*, *Petek*, *Búlferiz*, and *Teshún*. Inhabited villages are even now met

with on this tract. while considerable ruins attest that formerly these valleys were still better peopled than they are at present. That they were inhabited at the time of the Macedonian conqueror of Asia may be inferred from the above quotation, in which Curtius mentions, that Alexander "*ravaged all this tract.*" The same author goes on to say, that Alexander reached *Persis* on the third day after leaving the town of the Uxians, which perfectly answers the distance from Mál-Amír to the Kurdistán (the Jerahi, or Táb) river, which we have seen forms the boundary line of Khuzistán and Pars. It is about twenty-three or twenty-four farsangs (seventy-five to seventy-eight miles,) a distance which Alexander, owing to his anxiety to reach Persepolis, may have traversed in three days with his light Macedonian troops without great exertion, especially if he allowed his infantry in marching to make use of the cavalry horses during part of the day, making his troops walk and ride each in

Q. Curtius lastly observes, that Alexander only entered the defile called *Pylæ Susidæ* on the fifth day. From the ford near the village of *Kurdistán*, to the foot of the mountains from whence the river issues, there are not more than three farsangs (eleven and a-quarter miles); but it would be idle to dwell long on conjectures as to the probable reasons which may have deterred Alexander from advancing to that pass sooner. Very trivial obstacles often serve to impede the march of an army; and, in the present case, very plausible motives might be adduced. The troops required at least a day's rest after their forced march, before they could grapple with new hardships. It is equally natural to suppose that Alexander wished to await here the arrival of the main army, in order to concert with Parmenio the plan of attack on Persepolis, before he ventured further into the mountains, as at this place the level road from Persia, and the mountain-road from the Uxian country, meet in the plain of Behbehán, through which the

Táb pursues its course, after leaving the pass. Alexander had likewise the guides to consult as to his further progress.

We believe, then, that Alexander penetrated into Persia by the pass of the *Táb*, which in that case becomes the *Pylæ Susidæ*, or *Pylæ Persicæ*, a name by which this defile could be indiscriminately called, as serving to form the boundary between the two provinces of Susiana on one side, and Persis on the other.

In order to prove what we advance, it is first of all requisite to ascertain whether there exists or not a practicable passage across the snowy range of mountains separating the valley of the Táb from the waters of Persepolis.

While on a visit to the ruins of Persepolis, my guide, the Kedkhúda, or Chief of the village of Husein-abád, in conducting me up the isolated hill of *Istakhr* (about two and a-half farsangs north-west of the ruins of Takhti-Jemshid), assured me, that were the season less advanced (it was the beginning of January), and I felt inclined, he would have

taken me across the mountains to Behbehán, without my going by the circuitous road of Shiráz. He pointed in the direction W.N.W., from whence the river *Araxes*,* or *Bend Amír* of our maps, but known on the spot by the name of *Kúm-Firúz*, was directing its course from the snowy range of the *Ardekán* mountains.

We have therefore an assurance, founded on native authority, of a possibility of crossing the mountains in the intervening space between the valleys of the *Táb* and the *Araxes*, and that was more than sufficient for Alexander, who courted nothing so ardently as to surmount such obstacles as to others would have appeared impossibilities; and we reap from his commentators an account of the innumerable difficulties he had to contend with, and the hardships he had to undergo, before he could reach the plain of Persepolis.

We must bear in mind, that the latter part

* The river crossed by Alexander on approaching Persepolis.

of Alexander's route to Persepolis is geographically established, namely, that the *Araxes*, which he crossed after descending the snowy chain, and before he reached the Persian city, is the *Kúr*, or, more correctly, the *Kúm-Fírúz* of the present day.

This undisturbed point will facilitate us in tracing the previous march of the Macedonian conqueror, and lead us to determine the ancient name of the Táb.

Since the country of Khúzistán is become more known, the relative position of the different rivers enumerated by Strabo, which flow with their tributaries into the Persian Gulf, seem to have been more satisfactorily determined, with the exception of one river, namely, the *Agradates*.

The passage of Strabo here referred to, runs thus, in the French version of his work by MM. de la Porte du Theil and Coray:—

" Il (Alexandre) passa un plus grand nombre de fleuves qui traversent le pays, et qui *se*

déchargent dans le Golfe Persique* car après le *Choaspe* vient le *Coprates*, ainsi que le *Pasitigre* qui a sa source dans le pays des Uxii. *On y trouve encore le fleuve Agradates*,† nommé depuis *Cyrus*‡ par le Roi (de ce nom);

* Strictly speaking, it would be more correct to say, "Et qui se *dirigent vers* le Golfe Persique," as they do not all reach the sea; although in ancient times that may have been the case, in respect to the greater number of these rivers; as Pliny observes that the lower part of Elymaïs was under water, and the country so low, that in order to gain the shores of Persis the mariner was obliged to stand off to sea, and that nowhere do the rivers bring down so much sand and slime as those which flow through the above-named country. (See Pliny, lib. vi., c. 27.) We learn the same from the voyage of Nearchus, cap. xl., "Arriani Historia Indica."

† In respect to the river *Agradates*, M. Gossellin, in a note to the French translation of Strabo, above quoted, makes the following observation :—

"J'ignore le nom moderne de ce fleuve, nous manquons de bonnes cartes pour suivre dans cette partie de la Perse la marche d'Alexandre." (Geogr. de Strabon., lib. xv., p. 120.)

‡ *Cyrus*, which I believe was the Grecian word for *khor*, meaning *sun* in the old Persian language, reminds us of *Afitab*, by which appellation Otter says the river *Táb* was called in his day, and meant the *sun*, according to the modern signification of *Afitab* in Persian.

il traverse la partie de la Perse connue sous le nom de Cœle-Persis aux environs de la ville de Passargades."*

The classification of these rivers, or the order in which they follow each other, is evidently from west to east, the course Alexander took on leaving Susa for Persepolis; the *Choaspes* corresponding with the *Kerkheh*, the *Coprates* with the *Dizfúl* river, and the *Pasitigris* with the *Kúrḕn* of the present day.†

The *Agradates*, the most eastern of all these rivers, seems to answer the position of the *Jerahi* or *Túb* river which lies east of the Kúren.

* Strabo, lib. xv.

† Strabo has omitted to name the *Eulæus*, between the *Choaspes* and the *Coprates*, the present *Shoŕr* river, which runs close to the foot of the great mound at Susa; but Strabo's intention may probably have been to mention only the larger rivers of the province of Susiana. It will be observed from the above, that we have adopted partly Major Rawlinson's, but more particularly Professor Long's system of classifying the rivers of Susiana, which appears to us, more satisfactory than all the former systems.

Strabo, as if to distinguish it from the streams which flow from the Bakhtiyari mountains in Luristán-Buzúrg, adds that the *Agradates* comes from *Cœle-Persis* in the neighbourhood of *Passargadæ*.

Now, if the locality of Passargadæ were fixed, there would be little difficulty in determining the position of the *Agradates*, but since opinions still differ on that question, we must have recourse to other means in order to settle the point.

There is a passage in Pliny which, though it may itself require some explanation, will nevertheless help us in our present research. After enumerating several rivers on the coast of Persis, as the Greek fleet sailed up the Gulf, Pliny adds, on the faith of Onesicritus, the pilot of Nearchus, the following:—*

"Au milieu de la longueur du Golfe Persique se jette le fleuve *Hyperis* propre à porter des

* See "Histoire Naturelle de Pline," &c., in the French version by Poissenet de Sivry, liv. vi. chap. 23, pages 755—757.

bâtimens de charge; le fleuve *Sitiogade qui conduit aux Passargadæ en sept jours de navigation; l'Herathemis* aussi fleuve navigable; une île sans nom; le fleuve *Iranis*, qui ne porte qui des bâtimens mediocres et qui traverse la Susiane," &c.

According to the Arab geographers, the *Táb* and the *Ab-Shírín* are the only navigable rivers of Fars. The fleet on sailing up the Gulf came first to the latter, the same which Kinneir calls the Hindiyán river, and says is navigable for boats of twenty tons burthen.

From what has just been said, we think ourselves justified in concluding, that the *Hiperis* of Onesicritus can be no other than the *Abi-Shirin* of the Oriental geographers; and as the next river to the west of Ab-Shirin is the *Táb*, that this latter must, therefore, fairly stand for *the Sitiogadus* of Pliny.* Nor do we know of any river east of the *Kúren* (the river of Shúshter) which would answer the descrip-

* Or *Sitiogagus* of Arrian, the river by which provisions are brought up.

tion of *Sitiogade* better than the *Tâb* (the Jerahi), or be more suited to so lengthened a navigation.

On comparing Pliny's account of Sitiogadus with Strabo's Agradates, we are struck with the remarkable resemblance they bear to each other; for both these rivers, in their upper course, are said to pass by the neighbourhood of Passargadæ, and both flow into the Persian Gulf.

In a previous part of this work* we pointed out the possibility of placing the Asylum Persarum in the valley, watered by the *Tâb* in its upper course, where ruins of considerable towns still exist; it is, therefore, not unlikely, that they represent Passargadæ, the strongholds of the Persians, though not the city with the tomb of Cyrus.

If the points of resemblance be such as to identify the Sitiogadus with the Agradates, and serve to prove that the former, as has been shown, can be no other than the *Tâb*, it

* See vol. i., chap. xii.

follows that the Agradates must, in like manner, represent the said river Táb.

We must not be surprised if the same rivers are often differently called by different authors; nor ought we to confound into one river such as are distinct, although bearing the same name. In the East this confusion is of daily occurrence, and was probably the same in ancient times. But since this part of Persia has become better known of late years than it was for many centuries, instead of attaching ourselves to names merely,* it becomes more important to inquire whether the relative position and courses of those rivers coincide with the fluvial system of the country; for it has been, in a great measure, the ignorance of its topographical features which perplexed the commentators of Alexander's march through Susiana and Persis.

* Were we to be guided merely by the sound of the names, we might be induced to seek the Agradates, or *Cyrus* river, in the *Kúren*, and the *Eulæus*, or *Ulai*, in the "*Alaï*," or Tezeng river.

We are not aware that there exists any ancient authority to circumscribe the limits of *Cœle-Persis* to the plains of Merdasht and Murgab, with the ruins of Persepolis and the city of Cyrus. Cœle-Persis may have extended further west into the mountainous country, intersected by valleys, through which the Agradates pursued its course.

If, then, the Agradates represents the Tâb, as we believe it does, Alexander must have crossed it, because Strabo mentions the Agradates among the rivers traversed by the Macedonian King on his march to Persepolis. In his narrative, the *Araxes* was the next river which followed the Agradates, but he omits to give any description of the intervening space. We have that deficiency supplied by Quintus Curtius; according to whose account it consisted of a rugged chain of mountains, difficult of access, the western acclivities of which were covered with forest, the summits capped in snow, and the eastern declivity broken into

deep ravines;*—a faithful picture of the Ardekán chain which separates the basins of the Táb and the Kúm-Firúz between Behbehán and Persepolis.

The continuation of the passage in Strabo will further elucidate the subject.

"Alexandre," he says, "passa aussi *l'Araxe* près de Persepolis, residence magnifique surtout par les riches trésors qu'elle renferme. Ce fleuve a sa source dans la *Parætacene* et reçoit le *Medus* qui vient de la Médie. L'un et l'autre traversent une vallée extrêmement fertile qui touche de même que Persepolis à la Caramanie vers l'Orient."

The mountainous country, then of *Ardekán*, where the *Táb* and the *Kúm-Firúz* take their source, forms the ancient *Parætacene*, or *Parætakena*, of the Greeks. Thus we find that, with the single omission of the initial letter, the name has not changed since the time of Alexander, *Ardekán* retaining the consonants of *Arætakena*, which is all one can expect from

* Q. Curtius, lib. v., cap. iv.

the genius of Oriental languages, where the signs of the vowels are not always manifest.

Herodotus informs us that *Artæi*,* or *Ardæi*, was the proper name for Persians; *Ardekán* therefore designated the seat of the Persian race; and this appears to offer a further proof that the mountainous region stretching from Persepolis to Behbehán, and of difficult access at all times, would be the fittest spot to place the Asylum Persarum.†

* Polymn. 61.

† I am tempted to throw out a few more conjectures respecting *Ardekán*, although I fear they are not well digested, and crave therefore the indulgence of my judges, in case these suggestions happen to be at variance with the etymological construction of the old Zend and other Eastern languages of which I am ignorant.

Major Rennel, in his valuable commentary on Herodotus, is of opinion that the *Artæi* may originally have occupied the country of *Ardestán* to the north-east of Isfahán.*

Without prejudicing in the least the propriety of such a suggestion, we wish to throw out a similar conjecture in favour of *Ardekán*. The wandering tribes of Persia,

* See on the Geography of Herodotus, vol. i., p. 378.

If the interpretation we have given to the above-stated passages of Strabo and Pliny, together with the account of Quintus Curtius,

---

belonging to one clan and bearing the same name, are now, and were probably the same in ancient times, scattered over various parts of the country.

The sound *ard*, or perhaps more properly *ar*, in the word *Ardekán*, seems to constitute the root of the Zend race, and was sprinkled all over the countries of the east, commencing from the high table land of central Asia, and spreading westward.* Then we meet with *Articane* and *Ariá* in the locality of modern *Herat*, and another *Artacane* more to the west, near *Rhages*, as well as several other places bearing the same name.

If the word *Dekan* be equivalent to *Dagyn*, which, according to M. Burnouf's interpretation, means province,† then *Ardekán*, or *Ardagyn*, the province or country of the *Ar* people may form a counterpart to *Lur-Dagyn*, or *Lur-Dagan*, the country of the *Lur*, who are also a tribe of the

---

* Even the Indians called themselves *Arya*, or the excellent, while in the Arab Geography, translated by Sir W. Ouseley, we read that the *Rous* (the Russians) were divided into three tribes, of which one was called *Arthai*, whose capital was *Artha*, near Bulgar. See Ouseley, p. 191.

† See "Commentaire sur le Yaçna," p. lxii., and C. Ritter's "Erdkunde," part viii., p. 18.

be correct, we necessarily arrive at the following conclusions:—

1. That the *Agradates* of Strabo, and the

Zend race. This *Lur Dagan* is at present a large village, or, according to Major Rawlinson, it may be called a town,* and lies to the north of *Ardekán*, in the possession of the Bakhtiyari, who are of the *Lur* race.

But are not the *Artæi*, or the *Ar* people, the same as the *Paras*,† under which name the country, as well as the inhabitants of Persia are mentioned in the Holy Scriptures?‡ the same as *Pars* and the *Parsi* of the Arab writers,§ or *Fars* of the present day? *Farsi* being now

---

* "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," vol. ix., p. 103.

† The Par ça of the Persepolitan Zend inscriptions. (See Lassen, Die Alt Persischen Keil-Inschriften von Persepolis, pp. 49 and 60.)

‡ "*Paras* (Heb.) Persia Collect. Persiæ." (Ezech. xxvii. 10; Esth. i. 3; Esr. i. 1, 4, 5, 199; Dan. v. 28; vi. 12.) Al. Pers. (پارسا, فارسا, فرسا), i. e., Zend, Splendus, nitidus, clarus (Wahl Asia, p. 225—19. Heeren, Ideen, &c., b. i., p. 627).

See Lexicon Manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum in Veteris Testamenti Libros, &c.

§ We find even the *Parsi* and *Parsia* close to *Artacane* and *Aria* in Ptolemy's Geography, tabula ix.

Sitiogadus of Pliny, represent the *Táb* (Jerahi, or Kurdistán,) river.

2. That the *Pylæ-Susidæ*, or *Pylæ-Persicæ*, is the pass of *Tengi-Tek-ó;* and therefore that here was the boundary between Persis and Susiana.

3. That the *Paræetacene* mountains are identical with the *Ardekán* chain.

4. That one of the *Passargadæ* ought to be sought in the upper valley of the Táb.

And, lastly, that Alexander crossed the Táb, and traversed the pass of *Tengi-T'ek-ó.*

On fixing thus the boundary-line between

---

used only to designate the language of the Parsians, but not the people.

Therefore, without the necessity of removing the letter *P* from the word *Paræetacene*, we still find it identified with *Ardekán*, as being the country of the *Paras*, the *Ardi*, or *Ar*, who were one and the same race.

I believe there is a passage in Nearchus where the *Mardi* are blended with the *Paræetace*, and occupying the very locality now under consideration. If so, that would be water to our mill in identifying *Ardekán* with *Paræetacene.*

Persis and Susiana at the Táb river, near Behbehán, we are enabled to determine with some degree of precision, the site of the Uxian city, and have thus the means in our power of deciding whether our previous views on the subject were correct or not.*

Curtius informs us that it was three days' march before the frontier of Persis was reached, and that it was, moreover, in the mountains. This distance suits perfectly the position of the ruins on the plain of Mál-Amír, in the hilly country of the Bakhtiyari; whilst we have endeavoured to prove elsewhere that the same plain answers likewise, in other respects, the topographical description of the city of the Uxii, besieged by Alexander.

It remains to show, that the defiles passed by Alexander on his march to Persepolis, could not have been those of Kal'eh-Sefid, which, agreeably to the received opinion, represent the Pylæ-Susidæ.

To prove this, it will be sufficient to notice

* See vol. ii., c. xviii.

that Kal'eh-Sefid lies twenty-four farsangs south-east of the Táb; and nearly the same distance separates the latter river from the plain of Mál-Amír, situated in the mountains to the north-west.

We have seen that it was only by forced marches that Alexander could reach the boundary of Susiana in three days, before he entered the Pylæ-Susidæ, which we identify with Tengi-Tek-ô, at the Táb river; but if the Pylæ-Susidæ are to represent the defiles of Kal'eh-Sefíd, then the troops of Alexander must have performed double the distance in the same space of time—a thing utterly impossible.

It was, we believe, the idea that the Arosis of Nearchus laved the foot of Kal'eh-Sefid, which led to the erroneous notion of placing the Susian defiles so far inland, if we are allowed to make use of this expression; for Kal'eh-Sefid lies at a considerable distance in the interior of the province of Persis, far from the boundary of Susiana.

A serious objection may be raised against the Agradates forming the frontier of Persis, because the Oroatis, which geographers identify with the Arosis, constituted the boundary between that province and Susiana.

If the Arosis and the Oroatis were two distinct rivers, the difficulty might perhaps be in some degree obviated, by allowing the Abi-Shirin to represent the Arosis, and by assigning the Táb for the Oroatis; but notwithstanding some ambiguity which hangs over the scanty information * concerning the Arosis and Oroatis in ancient writers, the impression is, that they were intended for the same river. It will therefore remain to ascertain whether the distance, as given by Strabo, Pliny, and Arrian, which separated the frontier river of Persis from Pasitigris (which we believe is now admitted to be the Kúren), is to apply to the *Táb*, or the *Abi-Shirin*.

Our ignorance of the true position of the

* See Gosselin's Note to Strabo, in the French version of M. de la Porte du Theil, &c., liv. xv., p. 119.

mouth of this latter river, as well as that of the original bed of the Táb, will not allow us to decide the question; but we may entertain the hope that the late surveys of the northern coast of the Persian Gulf, by the Euphrates Expedition, will ere long enable geographers to settle this long pending point.

Before we quit the subject, we shall take the liberty of stating the motives which prompt us to identify the Oroatis, or Arosis, with the *Táb*, in preference to the *Abi-Shirin*.

In the first instance, this belief is founded on the observations of Strabo and Nearchus themselves, who mention that river as the largest in Persia;* an honour† which undeniably belongs to the Táb, for its depth, and the length of its course, when compared to the Abi-Shirin.

In the next place we have seen that the highland tribes, who lived between Persis Proper and Susiana, such as the Mardi and the Parætace, are to be traced to the valley of the

* See Strabo. † See Arrian.

, in the mountainous region of Ardekán, l not to the Abi-Shirin. These Mardi and etace were neighbours of the Uxii, who pied the mountains to the north and north-east of Susiana, and a reference to the map will lainly show that this can in no way suit the l ition of the Abi-Shirin.

The earliest Mussulman writers who have treated of this part of the country are unanimous in assigning the Táb to be the boundary of Khuzistán (Susiana), and Pars (Persis). The Arabs must have found it existing on their taking possession of the country, for it is nowhere stated that the conquerors had anything to do with fixing this line of demarcation between the two provinces. The same limits prevail to this day, Behbehán with its dependencies falling under the jurisdiction of Fars.*

* In the map of our route from Kazerún to Shúshter, published in the thirteenth volume of the transactions of the Royal Geographical Society of London, the *Arosis* is identified with the *Abi-Shírín*, the *Brisane* with the *Shemsi-*

After this long, though indispensable digression, we resume Timur's march.

The sixth he passed to *Kej-Hamun*, and encamped at the source of the river *Khúnbidak*.

The first considerable river we arrive at after quitting the plain of *Lishter*, is the *Shemsi-'Arab*, and it is, I suspect, the same stream in a hilly country, the windings of which are crossed several times on the way to the karavanserai of Dúghúmbezún; but I cannot be positive on the point, having traversed a part of the road during the night. At all events, Timur could not have halted further than two and a-half, or, at the utmost, three farsangs (eleven and a-half miles) to the east of Lishter, the army having a hilly tract to pass, and the country in front being without water for a considerable distance. Moreover, if *Shemsi-'Arab* is not the same as

Arab, the *Rhogonis* with the *Abi-Shur*, and the *Granis* with the present *Shapúr* river; but as we did not follow their respective courses down to the Persian Gulf, we could only trace them conjecturally on the map.

Khán-bidak, surely Shéreffu-d-din would have made some mention of the army having crossed the former, the Shemsi-'Arab being no mean stream.

As *Khán-bidak* means the *karavanserai of the little willows*, it may be the same that I found in ruins close to the banks of the Shemsi-'Arab, and situated in a lovely grove.*

It is the custom with eastern armies, when on

If the *Shemsi-'Arab* does not empty itself into the sea, but joins the *Abi-Shirin*, it may in that case be the *Harú* river, of which Baron Hammer, of Purgstall, makes mention, on the authority of a Persian MS. in the Imperial Library of Vienna, No. 433. According to its author, the river *Harú*, coming from the mountain of *Khoun-Kan*, unites with the *Abi-Shirin* before it falls into the Persian Gulf, and is eleven farsangs in length. (See "Recueil de Voyages et de Memoires," &c., tom. ii., p. 271.) In the mountains to the north of the karavanserai of Dúghúmbezún is a fort or village, bearing the name of *Arú*, or *Arú*, which is the chief place of the Borahmet tribe, from which the river *Harú* just mentioned may derive its name. There is another mountain river between *Shemsi-'Arab* and *Abi-Shirin*, marked on my route; but in comparison with the latter two, it appeared an insignificant stream.

their march, to rest longest in such places as afford grass for their cattle; it is therefore not improbable that Timur halted longer in the plain of Lishter, and made only a short stage that day; the more so as his army had, as already observed, to encounter next day a long and fatiguing route through a tract of country destitute of water.

On the 7th Timur stopped with his troops at the village of *Júláhah.*

At present there is no place of the name in the valley of Dúghúmbezún. I passed, however, the ruins of a considerable village and karavanserai, with remains of old kanants, or subterraneous watercourses, at a spot about four farsangs (fifteen miles) distant from Timur's previous halting-place; he consequently may have stopped there.

The 8th he moved to *Básht,* crossed the river of *Ab-Sha'b,* and encamped at *Múlemir-Shál.*

The fort of *Básht,** now the residence of a petty Khogilú Chief of the Bovi tribe, is about

* Pásht in MSS. 571.

five farsangs (eighteen miles and three-quarters) from the ruined village and karavanserai just mentioned; two farsangs further on is the *Abi-Sha'b*, or the *Abi-Shir* river, as I was told by my native guides, which forms the limits of the *Mamaseni* and *Khogilú* tribes.

A fort not far distant belongs to one of the Mamaseni Chiefs of the *Rustemi* tribe. It is situated on an eminence, and surrounded by the hovels of the natives, who call it *Kal'eh-ser-abi-Siyah* (black water head castle), which name is likewise given to the whole swampy valley leading from thence to Fahliyán.

It was probably at this fort that Timur rested for the night, after a forced march of nearly seven farsangs (twenty-six miles and a-quarter). as the word *Malemir*, or *Mál-Amír-Shól*, is not a proper name, but means the property of the Chief of *Shól*, or *Shúl*, a tribe which occupied this part of the country before and at the time of Timur's expedition. (See vol. i., chap. xi., p. 265.)

In respect to the river *Sha'b*, to which in

MSS. 851, examined by Mr. Renouard, the word *Bevân* is affixed, shows that *Sha'b-bevan*, which at present is limited, I believe, to the plain of Behrâm and the valley of Fahliyân, must formerly have extended further west in the direction of Behbehân.

"The 9th he crossed the river *Khavidân*,* and, having collected the necessary information concerning *Kal'eh Sefid* (to which the enemy had retired), fixed his head quarters at Naubenjân."

We are now once more on well-known ground. From *Abi-Shir*, or *Ab-Sha'b*, there are three farsangs to Naubenjân. The river *Khavedân* can be no other than the *Sheker-ab*, or *Abi-Shûr*, which flows through the valley of Fahliyân, having its source in the Ardekân mountains, and after flowing through the narrows of Kal'eh-Sefîd to the northern side of that hill fort,† traverses the beautiful valley

* Abi *Khavirân* and Kháván in MSS. 851.

† And not to the south of it, as it is marked on Kinneir's Map of Persia.

of *Sha'b-bewán*, one of the four terrestrial paradises of the Eastern poets. This river, it will be seen by the annexed map, does not flow through the valley of *Ser-abi-Sipáh*, or join the *Hindiyán* (*Abi-Shírín* river), but is lost between the mountains behind Fahliyán.

I failed to ascertain whether the river *Abi-Shúr* (Sheker-ab) reaches the Gulf, but according to the configuration of the country, I am inclined to suppose that it joins the Abi-Shúr, and that the united waters of the two rivers flow into the Persian Gulf.

Not having followed the courses of these rivers to the beach, we abstain from comparing them with those the admiral of Alexander met on the Persian coast as he sailed up the Gulf. Nevertheless an important fact is ascertained, that the Journal of Nearchus is not a fiction, and that there are rivers close to the mountains which may correspond with those enumerated in his list. They may also serve, perhaps, after a little closer investigation, to unravel the apparent discrepancies we meet

in Ptolemy, Marcianus, Pliny, and Nearchus, as to the number of those rivers.

The *Abi-Shúr*, so called on account of its brackish water (*ab*, water, and *shúr*, brackish), is not fordable in every part, and, I presume, Timur crossed it near the hill of *Kal'eh Siyáh*, where a ford exists, or over the stone bridge, if then entire, as at present only some broken buttresses indicate the place where it formerly stood.

Naubenján is two farsangs to the south of it, beyond a low ridge of hills which must be passed before you enter the plain of *Behrám*.

We have now accompanied Timúr through the whole of his march, as the rock of *Kal'eh-Sefid* stands about two farsangs north-east of the town of Naubenján, and comparing his with my own route from Kazerún up to Behbehán, and further on to the north-west, I find that Shérefú-d-din's account of it corresponds perfectly with my own observations as to the topography of this country.

In the interval between *Abi-Shúr* and the

river *Shapúr* there is only one insignificant stream, namely, the *Behrám* river in the plain of Naubenján, or Sahráï-Behrám; its north-western direction evidently shows that it falls into the *Abi-Shúr* behind the mountains to the south of Fahliyán.

Lastly, as I know of no other considerable river to the north of *Kazerún* and *Búshehr*, the Shapúr river seems to answer satisfactorily the course of the Granis, according to Arrian's Periplus.

We have no account of Hephæstion's march inland, up the Persian Gulf, and to Susiana on Alexander's return from India, at the same time that the King followed the road by Passargadæ; but I think Dr. Vincent in his valuable work "On the Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients," &c., is perfectly correct in his supposition, that Hephæstion did not go along the coast, but more inland, and may therefore have pursued the same tract I took from Kazerún to Naubenján, and thence followed the route we have just been tra-

velling with Timúr, only in the opposite direction.*

The road along the coast is reckoned barren, sultry, and void of habitations, whilst the one nearer to the mountains is cooler and well supplied with water and pastures.

Before we leave this subject, I may be allowed to advert to a passage in Dr. Vincent's work, so often quoted. The author, in treating of the rivers enumerated by Nearchus, says:—

"With every assistance, however, that can be obtained, it is not in my power to give the course of the rivers with that correctness I wish; and though D'Anville has performed a great service in showing that the rivers of Persia beyond the mountains never reach the sea, but are lost in lakes, exhausted upon agriculture, or absorbed by sand; and that he has likewise proved, that the rivers which fall into the gulf are all derived from the range which runs parallel with the coast, and forms

* Dr. Vincent "On the Commerce and Navigation," &c., vol. i., p. 490.

the back-ground of the Germesir, or hot level country next the sea,—he is still undoubtedly mistaken in the course and names he gives to some of those in the upper part of the gulf, and I am not fully furnished with materials to correct his errors. The cause of this is in the nature of the journals themselves. Of these I have consulted a great number, but every one of them takes its direction from the point where the author landed to Shiráz, or from Shiráz to the coast; and there is not *one that goes along the Gemesir below the mountains, nor perhaps ever will be one*, for it is a matter of doubt whether any European, except Hephastion and the forces he commanded, ever trod the whole extent of the ground; and as this is the only route which could *cut the streams* from the mountains *at right angles*, and afford the means of establishing the order in which they succeed, it will be long before this *desideratum* in geography can be supplied.

" Pietro della Valle went from Mina to Lar; but

from north-west to the Arosis, or Endian, there is no method of continuing the line but by fragments of routes from El-Edrissi, or by enumerating the principal places which lie in that direction."

I flatter myself that a part of the difficulty of which Dr. Vincent complains has been removed; the rivers flowing from the mountains have been cut at right angles, and show that some are not merely winter torrents, but perennial rivers, because at the time I passed through that country (in January), the periodical rains had not yet commenced, and the thaws in the snowy range could not have been considerable; yet, notwithstanding this, I found some difficulty in fording several rivers, whilst in other places there were no fords at all. It is, therefore, more than probable that they reach the Persian Gulf, and correspond with the mouth of those rivers, which have been noticed by the Grecian navigator along the eastern coast of that Gulf.

To identify them, however, it would be necessary to follow the course of each river from the spot at which I crossed it, down to the beach.

FINIS.

MACINTOSH, PRINTER,
GREAT NEW STREET, LONDON.

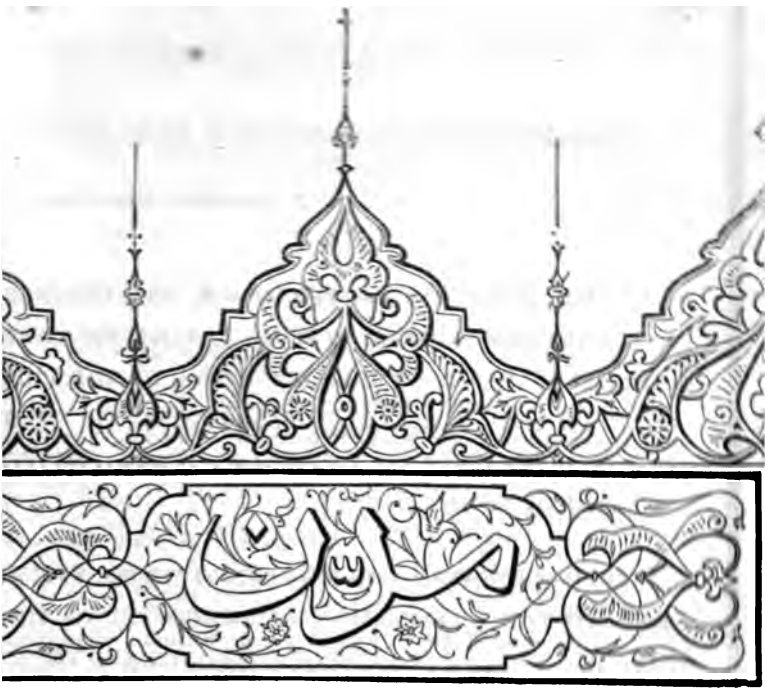
DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER CONCERNING THE PLATES.

Plates in Volume I.

1. Frontispiece. Ruins of a Bridge over the Táb, near Arrejân. Page 298.
2. Royal Pavilion at Finn, near Kashán. Page 31.
3. Royal Kiosk at Finn, near Kashán. Page 32.
4. Bas-relief of Nakshi-Behrám, in the country of the Mamaseni. Page 225.
5. Black Stone Monolite, with Bas-reliefs and Inscriptions, at Tenghi-Saúlek. Page 353.
6. Second bas-relief on the same stone. Page 355.
7. Third bas-relief on a rock at Tenghi-Saúlek. Page 356.
8. Sasanian toll-gate in the Bakhtiyari mountains. Page 390.
9. Two Inscriptions at the entrance of the Kar. of Meshedi Murgáb. Page 87.
10. Inscriptions on a Black Stone Monolite at Tenghi-Saúlek. At the end of the volume.
11. Map of the Route from Shiráz to Shúshter. At the end of the volume.

Plates in Volume II.

1. Frontispiece. Minar at Natens. Page 35.
2. Bas-reliefs at Shikofti-Salmán in the plain of Mál-Amír. Page 31.29.
3. Tomb of the Prophet Daniel at Súsa. Page 188.
4. View of Khorremabád, chief town in Luristán-Kúchúk. Page 256.
5. Cufic Inscriptions at Khorremabád. Page 251. 2 47
6. Map of the Route from Shúshter to Búrújird. At the end of the volume.



MESSRS. MADDEN & CO.'S

NEW

PUBLICATIONS.

8, LEADENHALL STREET.

8, Leadenhall-Street, London,
Dec. 1844.

JAMES MADDEN & CO. BEG LEAVE TO ANNOUNCE TO GENTLEMEN INTERESTED IN THE EAST, THAT THEY ESPECIALLY DEVOTE THEIR ATTENTION TO THE PUBLICATION AND SALE OF WORKS CONNECTED WITH THE MEDITERRANEAN, ARCHIPELAGO, TURKEY, EGYPT, PERSIA, AND INDIA, &c.

AUTHORS DESIROUS OF PUBLISHING WORKS REFERRING TO THE ABOVENAMED COUNTRIES, OR TO THE EAST IN GENERAL, WILL FIND J. MADDEN AND CO. AT ALL TIMES READY TO ENTER INTO ARRANGEMENTS FOR EFFECTIVE PUBLICATION.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES AND LITERARY SOCIETIES MAY HAVE ON APPLICATION, FORWARDED ONCE A MONTH, FREE OF EXPENSE, A LIST OF THE NEW WORKS PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

MISCELLANEOUS ORDERS EXECUTED WITH PUNCTUALITY AND DESPATCH.

8, *LEADENHALL STREET*,
DECEMBER, 1844.

MESSRS. MADDEN & CO.'S

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Now Ready.

THE FIRST VOLUME OF PROFESSOR H. H. WILSON'S
CONTINUATION OF
MILL'S INDIA.

VOL II. WILL BE PUBLISHED EARLY IN 1845.

VOLUMES I. TO VI., FORMING "MILL'S INDIA," MAY BE HAD THROUGH ANY BOOKSELLER, PRICE 14*s.* PER VOLUME.

"With all its merits, therefore, something was wanting before 'Mill's History of British India' could take rank as a standard national work. The deficiencies have now been amply supplied: indeed, no living man could be found better able to correct Mr. Mill's errors, and modify his too-sweeping conclusions, than Professor H. H. Wilson, a distinguished Oriental Scholar, long a resident in India, and familiar with the habits and manners of its diversified inhabitants."—*Athenæum.*

MESSRS. MADDEN & CO.'S NEW PUBLICATIONS.

TRAVELS IN LURISTĀN AND ARABISTĀN;

BEING

A TOUR THROUGH SOUTH-WESTERN PERSIA

IN THE YEARS 1840 AND 1841.

BY THE BARON CLEMENT AUGUSTUS DE BODE, &c. &c.

Followed by an Essay on the Marches of Alexander the Great and Amir Timur.

In Two Volumes 8vo., with Maps and numerous Illustrations. Price 28*s*.

—o—

A JOURNEY FROM NAPLES TO JERUSALEM,

BY WAY OF

ATHENS, EGYPT, AND THE PENINSULA OF SINAI;

INCLUDING

A TRIP TO THE VALLEY OF FAYOUM,

Together with a Translation of M. Linant de Bellefond's "Mémoire sur le Lac Mœris."

BY DAWSON BORRER, ESQ.

In One Vol. 8vo., with numerous Illustrations, and a Map of the Valley of Fayoum. Price 14*s*.

—o—

BOKHARA, ITS AMIR AND ITS PEOPLE;

FROM THE RUSSIAN OF KHANIKOFF.

BY THE BARON CLEMENT AUGUSTUS DE BODE.

In One Volume 8vo., with a Portrait of the reigning Amir, and an Original Map of the Country. Price 12*s*.

—o—

RECOLLECTIONS OF MILITARY SERVICE,

FROM 1813 TO 1818 INCLUSIVE,

IN

GERMANY, HOLLAND, BELGIUM, FRANCE, AND ENGLAND.

INCLUDING SOME ORIGINAL DETAILS OF THE

BATTLES OF QUATRE BRAS AND WATERLOO.

BY THOMAS MORRIS,

LATE SERJEANT 2D BATTALION 73D REGIMENT OF FOOT.

In One Volume, post 8vo. Price 5*s*.

8, LEADENHALL STREET.

EGYPT AND THE RED SEA.

TO BE PUBLISHED IN JANUARY 1845, IN ONE SPLENDID IMPERIAL FOLIO VOLUME,

THE ORIENTAL ALBUM.

To consist of a Series of Drawings of the Costumes of Egypt and the Red Sea, from Sketches made by Monsieur E. Prisse during sixteen years travel in the East. The Volume will contain Thirty Plates, with Letter-press description and illustrative Woodcuts. The Drawings are now in the hands of the most celebrated Artists of France, and will be executed in Lithography, in the finest style of art, under the superintendence of the Artist. The Work will be published at 4*l.* 4*s.*; and a few copies, coloured and mounted, in imitation of the Original Drawings, in a Portfolio, 10*l.* 10*s.* To ensure early impressions, Subscribers are requested to enter their names immediately with Messrs. Madden and Co., Leadenhall Street. Specimens of the Style in which the Work is to be executed may be seen.

TRAVELS IN SOUTHERN ABYSSINIA.

By CHARLES JOHNSTON, M.R.C.S.

In Two Volumes 8vo., with Map and Illustrations. Price 28*s.*

"He is the pleasantest traveller we have read since Bruce." *Hunt's Journal.*

"Mr. Johnston is a most enthusiastic, intelligent, and courageous traveller; a man of great powers of observation, capacity, and perseverance; and he has produced a work which cannot be read without deep interest."—*Tablet.*

"The interest of the work is twofold;—a book of travels and a narrative of adventures."—*Court Journal.*

"Our lengthy notice is the best proof of how much we have been gratified with this work."—*Atlas.*

"It is refreshing to peruse these Volumes, after enduring the infliction of Capt. Harris's ambitious, inflated, and stilted style."—*Manchester Times.*

"We have been most gratified with the perusal of this work."—*Patriot.*

TRAVELS IN KORDOFAN, (WHITE NILE.)

By IGNATIUS PALLME.

In One Volume 8vo. Price 12*s.*

"The reader feels as if he were actually an observer of the scenes which have been described with such graphic power, and hurries on from page to page with ever-sustained interest."—*Advertiser.*

"This is a most valuable book of travels: no book of travels with which we are acquainted gives such detailed and interesting accounts of the country visited. We are confident that this book will prove of the utmost utility to men of science and commerce. To the Geographer, the Ethnologist, and the Natural Historian, it will be a mine from which they must glean materials for their labours; and we earnestly recommend the work to the general reader, as graphic, amusing, and ably written."

Brighton Guardian.

The "Morning Herald" of Aug. 29 devoted four columns to a review recommending the work in the strongest terms.

MESSRS. MADDEN & CO.'S NEW PUBLICATIONS,

TRAVELS IN THE PUNJAB.

JOURNAL OF A MARCH FROM DELHI TO PESHAWUR, AND FROM THENCE TO CABUL, WITH THE MISSION OF SIR C. M. WADE, K.C.B.

INCLUDING

TRAVELS IN THE PUNJAB, A VISIT TO THE CITY OF LAHORE, AND A NARRATIVE OF OPERATIONS IN THE KHYBER PASS.

BY LIEUT. W. BARR, ROYAL HORSE ARTILLERY.

In One Volume 8vo., with numerous Illustrations. Price 12*s*.

"We have been particularly gratified by the perusal of this work, which possesses a value far greater than can be found in works of a more elaborate character: there is much, very much, which will deeply interest the reader."—*Naval and Military Gazette.*

"To the military reader this Volume will prove particularly suitable. The increasing importance of our relations with the Punjab renders every information respecting that country desirable."—*United Service Gazette.*

"Lieut. Barr is an exceedingly pleasant and observant traveller."
Hunt's Journal.

MEMOIR ON THE COUNTRIES ABOUT

THE CASPIAN AND ARAL SEAS;

ILLUSTRATIVE OF

THE LATE RUSSIAN EXPEDITION AGAINST KHIVA.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

BY CAPTAIN MORIER, R.N.

WITH A MAP BY JOHN ARROWSMITH.

In One Volume 8vo. Price 7*s*. 6*d*.

"This is purely a scientific work, treated in a scientific manner, and as unlike the flashy, unsatisfactory, and ephemeral tours that are abundantly published, as light is to darkness. This book contains facts valuable to all ages, and is a sort of landmark by which to note that silent progress of alternation which is slowly changing the face of the crust of this globe. This book, though a small one, is eminently deserving of a conspicuous station in all well-provided libraries; and we recommend it, also, to the attention of the general reader."—*Metropolitan, March.*

EDITED BY MAJOR SABINE, F.R.S.

REAR-ADMIRAL VON WRANGELL'S

NARRATIVE OF HIS EXPEDITION TO SIBERIA AND THE POLAR SEA.

UNDERTAKEN BY ORDER OF THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT, WITH A VIEW TO THE DISCOVERY OF A SUPPOSED POLAR CONTINENT.

In One thick Volume, with PORTRAIT and MAP, engraved from the Original Survey. Second Edition. Price 6*s*.

"The volume before us is almost the first work of the kind published under the authority of a Russian discoverer; and the value of its details is considerably increased by a sketch of former voyages of a similar nature, of which no account has ever appeared before."—*Atlas.*

8, LEADENHALL STREET.

FIRST AND SECOND SERIES
OF
THE UNITED IRISHMEN,
THEIR LIVES AND TIMES.
BY DR. R. R. MADDEN.

In Four Volumes, post 8vo., with numerous Portraits. Price 4*l.* 4*s.*
Either Series may be had separately.

"We sincerely wish that these volumes may have a wide circulation. Never was a more timely publication. We have here a most potent persuasive to that justice to Ireland which is now more than ever the first duty and necessity of Great Britain. Our heart's desire is, that both there and here, by the Government and by the people, the lessons which come out from the 'Lives and Times of the United Irishmen' may be read, marked, learned, and inwardly digested."—*Westminster Review, Aug.*

—o—

BY MR. JAMES R. BALLANTYNE,
OF THE SCOTTISH NAVAL AND MILITARY ACADEMY, EDINBURGH.

HINDUSTANI GRAMMAR,
WITH BRIEF NOTICES OF THE BRAJ AND DAKHANI DIALECTS.
Second Edition. Royal 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

KEY TO DITTO.
Royal 8vo. 1*s.*

HINDUSTANI SELECTIONS.
Third Edition. Royal 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

POCKET GUIDE
TO
HINDOOSTANEE CONVERSATION;
CONTAINING GRAMMATICAL PRINCIPLES, FAMILIAR PHRASES, AND A VOCABULARY, ENGLISH AND HINDOOSTANEE.
Second Edition. 32mo. 3*s.*

HINDUSTANI LETTERS.
Lithographed. 8vo. 3*s.*

PERSIAN CALIGRAPHY.
Second Edition. Lithographed. 4to. 6*s.*

ELEMENTS OF HINDI AND BRAJ BHAKHA.
PREPARED FOR THE USE OF THE EAST-INDIA COLLEGE, HAILEYBURY.
4to. 8*s.*

MAHRATTA GRAMMAR.
Lithographed. 4to. 10*s.* 6*d.*

THE PRACTICAL ORIENTAL INTERPRETER,
OR, HINTS ON THE ART OF TRANSLATING READILY FROM ENGLISH INTO HINDUSTANI AND PERSIAN.
Royal 8vo. 5*s.*

A CATECHISM OF SANSCRIT GRAMMAR.
24mo. 1*s.*

A CATECHISM OF PERSIAN GRAMMAR.
24mo. 1*s.*

PROFESSOR H. H. WILSON'S
INTRODUCTION
TO THE
GRAMMAR OF THE SANSKRIT LANGUAGE.
In One Volume, 8vo. Price 18*s*. cloth.

—o—

THE HITOPADEŚA.
THE FIRST BOOK, OR MITRA-LABHA.
The Sanscrit Text, with an Analytical Glossary, Sanscrit and English, shewing the Construction as well as the Signification of the Words.

BY PROFESSOR F. JOHNSON,
OF THE EAST-INDIA COLLEGE, HAILEYBURY.

In One Volume, 4to. Price 15*s*.

—o—

آتشکده
THE ATESH KEDAH, OR FIRE-TEMPLE.
BY HAJJI LUTF ALI BEG, OF ISPAHAN.

NOW FIRST EDITED FROM THE COLLATION OF ALL THE KNOWN MANUSCRIPTS.

BY N. BLAND, ESQ., M.R.A.S.

One Vol., royal 8vo. Price 5*s*.

—o—

CRANIA ÆGYPTIACA,
OR,
OBSERVATIONS ON EGYPTIAN ETHNOGRAPHY,
DERIVED FROM ANATOMY, HISTORY, AND THE MONUMENTS.

BY SAMUEL GEORGE MORTON, M.D.

In One Volume, 4to., with numerous Illustrations. Price 21*s*.

—o—

Also, by the same Author, in One Volume, Folio,

CRANIA AMERICANA,
OR,
A COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE SKULLS OF VARIOUS ABORIGINAL NATIONS OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA.

Illustrated by SEVENTY-EIGHT PLATES and a COLOURED MAP. 6*l* 6*s*

8, LEADENHALL STREET.

ANCIENT EGYPT;

HER MONUMENTS, HIEROGLYPHICS, HISTORY, & ARCHÆOLOGY,

AND OTHER SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH HIEROGLYPHICAL LITERATURE.

BY GEORGE R. GLIDDON,

LATE UNITED STATES' CONSUL AT CAÏRO.

In small Folio, containing as much matter as an ordinary sized 8vo. Vol, with nearly 100 WOOD-CUTS. Price 1*s.* 6*d.*

Nearly 20,000 copies of this Work have been sold in America.

—o—

ARIANA ANTIQUA;

A DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF THE ANTIQUITIES AND COINS OF AFFGHANISTAN.

WITH A

MEMOIR ON THE BUILDINGS CALLED "TOPES," BY C. MASSON, ESQ.

BY PROFESSOR H. H. WILSON, M.A. F.R.S.

In One Volume, 4to., with 35 PLATES and Large MAP.

—o—

A MEMOIR ON THE COTTON OF EGYPT.

BY GEORGE R. GLIDDON,

LATE UNITED STATES' CONSUL OF CAÏRO.

In 8vo. Price 2*s.*

"This Memoir was drawn up at the suggestion of the Hon. Levi Woodbury, late Secretary to the Treasury of the United States at Caïro. Here are, in a very few pages, a complete treatise on the History and Manufacture of Cotton in Egypt, and of the dreadful system under which the wretched Fellàh is compelled to produce it. They who feel alarmed at the apparition of a blue book, and its crowded folio of details, will find a useful analysis, as well as an original essay of great value in Mr. Gliddon's Memoir."—*Atlas.*

"We ought to have noticed this pamphlet earlier, but it was accidentally mislaid. It is, as its title declares, 'A Memoir on the Cotton of Egypt;' and the Memoir is well written, containing a great deal of very valuable information respecting a most singular production of a most singular and interesting country. The pamphlet is well deserving a careful perusal."—*City Chronicle.*

—o—

AN APPEAL TO THE ANTIQUARIES OF EUROPE

ON THE

DESTRUCTION OF THE MONUMENTS OF EGYPT.

BY GEORGE R. GLIDDON,

LATE UNITED STATES' CONSUL AT CAÏRO.

In 8vo. 160 pages. Price 4*s.*

"Mr. Gliddon, in this cleverly-written publication, brings forward matter of very great importance to all who admire antiquity, or who are interested in history. He appeals to the Antiquaries of Europe on behalf of the Monuments of Egypt. If they do not step forward for the preservation of Egyptian Monuments, in a very few years travellers may save themselves the trouble of a journey beyond the precincts of the British and Continental Museums. We heartily recommend his work to the public."—*City Chronicle.*

SKETCHES OF THE COAL-MINES IN NORTHUMBERLAND AND DURHAM.

BY T. H. HAIR.

To be completed in Twelve Numbers, Imperial 4to. Each Part contains Three Plates, with Letter-press descriptions. Nos. I. to XIV., completing the Work, are now published, in One folio Vol. half-bound, price 1*l.* 16*s.*

HOW DID ENGLAND BECOME AN OLIGARCHY?

ADDRESSED TO PARLIAMENTARY REFORMERS,

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A SHORT TREATISE ON THE FIRST PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL GOVERNMENT.

BY JONATHAN DUNCAN, ESQ.

In Foolscap 8vo. Price 1*s.*

"We know no book in our language, which, in the same compass, furnishes so much varied and valuable information relative to the political government of our nation, as this small but comprehensive volume. It consists not of mere historical details, but contains a full development, and, when necessary, an able defence of those great principles of political science which form the basis of all righteous government. In fact, the student of political science will find in this volume a most valuable manual in pursuing his interesting investigations Mr. Duncan is not an ordinary writer. He has a richly-stored and gifted mind, and great aptitude in using his powers and his acquirements in the elucidation of the topic he endeavours to explain. Right glad shall we be, in these eventful and reforming times, to meet him soon and often in the walks either of polite or political literature. We warmly recommend his present work."

Christian Examiner.

INITIA LATINA:

A GUIDE TO LATIN, FOR BEGINNERS.

BY THE REV. J. EDWARDS,

KING'S COLLEGE,

AND

W. CROSS,

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

In One Volume, 12mo. 3*s.*

"A clear, simple, and efficient introduction to the study of Latin."—*Atlas.*

"Notwithstanding the many other 'Collectanea Sententiæ,' and 'Delectuses' used at schools, we consider this the most serviceable that has as yet issued from the press."—*Mirror.*

THE BORROWER WILL BE CHARGED AN OVERDUE FEE IF THIS BOOK IS NOT RETURNED TO THE LIBRARY ON OR BEFORE THE LAST DATE STAMPED BELOW. NON-RECEIPT OF OVERDUE NOTICES DOES NOT EXEMPT THE BORROWER FROM OVERDUE FEES.

WIDENER
MAR 14 1987

WIDENER
SEP 22 1998
OCT 17 1998
CANCELLED
BOOK DUE

WIDENER
CANC
JUL 2 1987
NOV 23 1987
2207293

WIDENER
JUL 22 1988
2207293